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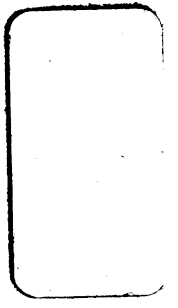

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MEMOIRS

OF A

HUNGARIAN LADY.

BY

THERESA PULSZKY.

WITH

A HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION,

BY FRANCIS PULSZKY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER,
GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.
1850.

LONDON:
Printed by Schulze and Co., 13, Poland Street.

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MEMOIRS

OF A

HUNGARIAN LADY.

CHAPTER I.

PATRIOTIC AND CONSTITUTIONAL CHARACTER OF COUNT LOUIS BATTHYANYI.

At that period, the actions of Count Louis Batthyányi were severely censured by the extreme parties of both Hungary and Vienna. The men of the most decided stamp in Pest reproached him, not only on the ground that he was ready to countersign the appointment of Count Lamberg, but likewise, that in his anxiety to avoid conflict, previous to Lamberg's arrival, he had granted, on the 27th of September, an armistice of twenty-four hours to Jellachich, who might otherwise, in that early stage of events, have been utterly beaten. Further, they thought it a grave fault, that after the murder of Lamberg, the Prime Minister left

the government at the most critical moment. For this, they called him unfaithful to his fatherland.

Several months later, in January 1849, Prince Windischgrätz detained Count Batthyányi, when sent by the diet to come to a parley with the Austrian commander. The Count was accused of high-treason; was finally sentenced by court-martial, and shot the 6th of October, at Pest, on the wood-market. His enemies have attempted to tarnish even his memory by calumnies.

But in both respects, Count Batthyányi is spotless: true to his fatherland, faithful to the law, he lived and died a patriot. The following documents, little known to the public at large, will suffice to decide the opinion of every impartial judge.

When Batthyányi heard in November that, by the extreme party in Pest, he was accused of having forsaken the cause of the fatherland, he wrote the following letter to Kossuth:—

"Dear Friend,—For six months full of difficulties, I have been worn out by the cares of public concerns. The first feeling, after I withdrew from the government, yielding to the power of circumstances, is bitterness. What can be more bitter to a true patriot, than to be accused of duplicity against the fatherland, when it is encircled by intrigues and endangered by manifold treason?

"If any body disapproves my politics, it does

not afflict me in the least. But nobody shall accuse me of having misused my influence to endanger the independence of my country.

"My whole past life—an open book since the first beginning of my public career—should prove sufficient against every suspicion. But as my last stay at Vienna occasioned suspicions, I will simply state its causes.

"You, dear friend, know well, that I went to the camp with the consent of the Committee of Defence, and of several deputies then assembled at my house. I wanted to speak with Lamberg, and persuade him, if possible, not to forsake the legal path. As, however, he was not in our camp, and as I presumed him to be in the camp of Jellachich, I sent Major Bubna to the enemy, with the knowledge of General Moga, ordering him to invite General Lamberg, in my name, to an immediate interview; but if Lamberg should not be in the enemy's camp, then my presence among our army was not to be mentioned at all. Bubna did not find Lamberg in the camp of Jellachich, but trusting that the Count would soon arrive, the Major, without my order or knowledge, made an armistice. I only mention this circumstance, because the negociation of this armistice was attributed to me, in order to raise suspicions against me.

"Meanwhile, the deputies sent by the Diet to the

camp, arrived with the resolution; which was not only founded on distrust of me, but likewise might possibly have the most prejudicial influence on the army.*

"I explained this to the deputies, and advised them, before they took any further steps, to consult on the matter with the 'corps of officers.' They did so. The officers corroborated my opinion, that it would not be safe to communicate to the soldiers the resolution of the Diet. With this the deputies complied, after the officers had declared, that in case of any attack from Jellachich, notwithstanding the Royal manifesto, by which the continuation of the contest was interdicted, they would not lay down their arms until all hostile troops should have left the Hungarian soil. I was then anxious to return to Pest. But on the road I learnt by a courier the murder of Count Lamberg. Simultaneously the messenger delivered to me three autograph letters from his Majesty, directed to myself.† In these letters I was directed to countersign the appointment of Lamberg as unlimited Royal Com-

* This was the resolution of the Diet on the 27th of September, declaring the uncountersigned nomination of Count Lamberg illegal, and himself a traitor if he should make use of it, and traitors all those who should obey it.

† The above-mentioned documents had, after the murder of Lamberg, all been found upon him.

missary; further, the appointment of George Mailath as Stadtholder of Hungary, and likewise the order authorizing the dissolution of the Diet. I speedily hastened back to speak personally with Jellachich, and convince him of Lamberg's appointment; (since he had always declared the Royal manifesto [to that effect] false and counterfeit,) and to persuade him to leave the country with his troops. As in this I did not succeed, I proceeded directly to Vienna, actuated by two motives.

"First, I wished to express my judgment concerning the unlawfulness of the autograph letters I had received; and, secondly, I was anxious to make matters up in respect to the sad end of Lamberg, lest arbitary will and bad intention should snatch at this deed as a pretext for a *coup-d'état*. I likewise went to Vienna, because I thought that there the crisis of our affairs would take place; and I wanted to arrest at its very source the danger which might threaten my fatherland.

"I therefore spoke to Wessenberg, (to whom I had always been directed,) and told him that our laws did not recognize any Lieutenant, and that according to the law, the Diet could only be prorogued or dissolved after the discussion on the budget was ended. In regard to Lamberg, I told him, that since a criminal inquisition concerning

this sad event had been ordered, it could not be turned into a pretext for a *coup-d'état*; so much the less, as the Diet had expressed its condemnation of the deed. At the same time I pointed out to Wessenberg, how they themselves in Vienna had *indirectly* occasioned the murder of Lamberg, by their disregard and avoidance of the lawful forms. To prevent the renewed occurrence of such unlawfulness, I requested that the appointment of Baron Vay to be Prime Minister should be sent to me, and that I would consider it my duty to countersign it.

"On the following day I got an autograph letter from his Majesty, in which my resignation was accepted, and the appointment of Baron Vay to be Prime Minister was sent to me. But also another document was included, in which I was desired to countersign the appointment of Baron Récsey to replace Prince Eszterhazy. This last I naturally did not; as the resigning Prime Minister can only countersign the appointment of his successor, who can then of himself compose his cabinet, and propose the names of his colleagues to the King. This I declared to Wessenberg in a letter, and at the same time exhorted Baron Récsey not to give himself up to be uesd as a tool for a "*coup-d'état.*" Récsey promised to follow my advice. Not long afterwards I

was informed of that notorious manifesto, which, countersigned by Récsey, overthrew the independence of Hungary.

I went to Récsey, and reproached him, in presence of witnesses, with his fickleness and the unlawfulness to which he had lent his hand. In respect to the manifesto, I declared that this was a breach of every legal proceeding, and a declaration of war against Hungary, so that no other path was left to Hungary but to provide for its self-defence.

"After this I left Vienna, and proceeded by Soprony to my estate, where I equipped myself, and armed my servants and my former peasants. I then set out to the battle-field, that as a true son of my beloved fatherland I might not only by my advice, but likewise by the devotion of my blood and life, prove my faithfulness to my country.

"Providence, however, disposed otherwise of me, as in consequence of an unlucky fall I am doomed to inactivity. But I trust that my bruised arm will soon recover strength enough to be used against the enemy who is ravaging the country, that I may take part in the glory of victory, or, if so it must be, in the glorious death of our fatherland.

"I yet may add that I never did anything without the consent of the other ministers, and that I never listened to the proposal of measures by which the laws of 1848 might have been injured. This I

have proved in my private, public, and official actions."

One year later Batthyányi had breathed his last, pierced with the balls of the riflemen. This death has awakened the sympathy of all Europe. The scaffolds of the sixteenth century seemed erected anew.

The modern Alvas had found a new Egmont to be their victim. The Viennese cabinet was struck by the impression which the scene of blood had made. The press of Europe unanimously condemned it. To give another direction to public opinion, an apology appeared on the first of November, in the official Vienna paper, defending the sentence of death pronounced against the first Prime Minister of Hungary.

Several days afterwards, German and English papers contained the following refutation:

"On the 6th of October, Count Louis Batthyányi was shot in the Holtzplatz (Wood-market), at Pesth. The proceedings against the former President of the Hungarian ministry were carried on by new constitutional Austria with closed doors; we are ignorant, therefore, of the constitution of the court by which he was tried and condemned, of the nature of the accusation preferred against him, and of the means, if any really were, permitted him for the purpose of his defence; the particular laws in accordance with which he was condemned have likewise remained a secret. The sentence only on the unfortunate man has been published; and from it we learn that he

was found guilty of high treason, for having, while Minister of State, violated the conditions of "the Pragmatic Sanction," and for having taken a part as a deputy, in November and December, in the proceedings of the Hungarian Diet, after he had resigned his office, and also for having assisted the armed resistance against Austria, by serving in the Vidos corps as a private of the national guard. The execution of Count Louis Batthyanyi has been almost unanimously condemned by the press of Europe as an unwise and barbarous measure on the part of the government; it has never been considered in the light of a judicial proceeding, and even the acknowledged foreign organs of the Austrian government could offer nothing in opposition to the public opinion, and had not the courage to defend the act, although their disapprobation was but very mildly worded. It was generally expected, therefore, that the Austrian government would publish in full the proceedings of the court by which Count Batthyanyi was condemned, in order to place in the hands of the people as well as of jurists, the means by which they might arrive at an impartial verdict on the late president of the Hungarian ministry as well as on the present Austrian ministry. For on the conclusion of a war like the Hungarian, it is more advantageous to the interests of the victorious governments to satisfy public opinion that they possessed not merely the power, but the right on their sides, than to shed blood on the place of execution; the people, moreover, being generally inclined to see in all political sentences of death, only the revenge of a conqueror, and not the punishment awarded by a judge. The Austrian government has refused to throw a light on the darkness in which its proceedings have been shrouded; the acts of accusation have not been published, but instead there has appeared in the official *Wiener Zeitung* a semi-official apology for the execu-

tion of Batthyányi, which clearly does not proceed from the pen of a jurist.

"We will not discuss the bombastic and turbid style of this declamatory article, for its object is too serious for us to be detained by the manner in which it is framed; but we will at once endeavour to oppose facts to the accusation; and if, on the one side, the author of that "apology" has been enabled to obtain trustworthy and particular information concerning the proceedings of the inquiry against, and of the condemnation of Count Louis Batthyányi, on the other side, from my former official position, I am intimately acquainted with the measures and acts of the Batthyányi ministry. Impartial jurists may then form an opinion of the constructive proof of high treason, by which not only the act but the intention is denounced as treasonable — and the intention, moreover, not proved, but from the outset considered as notorious.

To avoid all suspicion of garbling the passages of the ministerial article, or of perverting the facts it contains, I at once extract the accusation against the Count. It is as follows:

"'He was found guilty of having created the most important lever of the insurrection by the issue of Hungarian bank notes, a proceeding which openly bears the stamp of illegality from the absence of the imperial sanction, and the subject of which notoriously was the production of the funds necessary for the separation of Hungary from the Austrian empire—a measure for which the whole ministry is undeniably responsible, but the guilt of which more particularly appertains to the Count himself as its head. He was found guilty of having, without the Emperor's sanction, levied recruits, and put on foot an armed power, thus creating an army which was destined for, and in due course employed in, waging a civil war. This crime he perpetrated not only as premier and chief of a cabinet in common with others, but also

especially and individually, by assenting as early as the 14th of September, 1848, to the carrying out of the resolution of the 13th of September, in which it was enacted that an army of 200,000 men should be put on foot, and by commencing and ordaining the levy of recruits as early as the 26th of September.

"'The Count Louis Batthyányi was likewise convicted of having, by his guilty neglect of the instructions of the Emperor, and by a malicious and to secession-tending (*in dem Loosreissungsbestreben*) inactivity fomented the dissensions between Hungary and Croatia, and of having placed the state in the most fearful danger by leaving everything undone, which might have stayed that civil war in its progress.

"The first group of accusations refers, as we see, to the relations of the Hungarian ministry to Croatia.

"Baron Jellachich was appointed Ban of Croatia at the same time that Count Batthyányi was appointed president of the Hungarian ministry. It was natural that the latter should endeavour, as speedily as possible, to effect an adjustment of the differences between Hungary and Croatia; for the news had already reached Pressburg that the first ebullitions of joy which the occurrences of March had excited in Agram, and which had effected the reconciliation of all parties, had been greatly disturbed by Dr. Gaj, who rekindled the fire of party hate, (for the moment extinguished), by the information that he had been commissioned by the Archduchess Sophia and Count Kollowrat to organize a reaction against Hungary. Count Batthyányi at that time fully occupied with the Diet in Pressburg, which was considering the projects for new organic laws, wrote at once in the beginning of April, as soon as he learnt the arrival of Jellachich in Vienna, inviting him to attend the Diet at Pressburg, in order that they might come to an understanding on the Croatian question.

"Jellachich declined the invitation, but the minister was

too well aware of the importance of the question, and he therefore induced the Archduke Stephen, who, as Palatine, is the legal chief of the Ban, to bring about an interview with Jellachich. The cunning Croat would not discuss business even with the Archduke; he made excuses, saying it was true that the confidence of his people in him had caused his appointment, but that he was only imperfectly acquainted with their wishes and requirements, and that therefore he must make himself thoroughly acquainted with them, previous to entering into any negotiation with either the Archduke or the President of the Hungarian ministry. The Hungarian ministry admitted this excuse, and having arrived in Pest, sent a pressing invitation to the Ban, through Archduke Stephen, to meet them at a later period, on the 10th May, in Pest, in order to settle all differences between Hungary and Croatia. He again refused to come, but excused himself in a letter addressed to the Archduke Stephen—in his character as Archduke, and not as Palatine—in which he announced, with the usual diplomatic flourishes of the most unbounded openness and good-will, that he would not come at all, letting fall some mysterious hints concerning his future position, and of the possibility of his being eventually much misapprehended.

"Count Batthyányi, as well as the Archduke Stephen, understood thoroughly the motives of this letter; but to leave no means untried, the Hungarian ministry applied direct to the monarch, placed before him the condition of affairs, and prayed him to summon both the Hungarian ministry and the Ban of Croatia to his presence at Innspruck, that both might meet and come to an understanding in presence of the Emperor.

"Meanwhile Jellachich had taken several illegal steps; amongst others he had, without the preliminary authorization of the ministry, summoned a provincial Diet; he had promulgated martial law in Croatia against all the friends of

Hungary, had declared treasonable all official connection of the Croatian authorities with the Hungarian ministry, and by so doing had violated "the Pragmatic Sanction," by which Hungary and Croatia are inseparably united. In reference to these proceedings a royal edict was sent to Pesth, summoning Count Batthyányi to Innspruck for the 2nd June; another was addressed to Baron Jellachich, summoning him to appear before the Court to answer for his illegal proceedings, simultaneously, the assembly of the provincial Diet was denounced illegal, and ordered to be dissolved. Count Batthyányi appeared at Innspruck on the appointed day, but no Ban came: he boldly defied the order of his monarch; he opened the provincial Diet, which had been declared illegal; and his organ, the *Agram Gazette*, publicly announced that his proceedings were fully sanctioned and approved by Archduke Charles, to whom he made regular reports on the subject. This public opposition on the part of Jellachich, caused him to be deprived, by a royal decree, dated from Innspruck, on the 10th June, of all his offices and honours, and further summoned him again to appear and to answer for himself: another royal decree ordered Field Marshal Lieutenant Baron Hrabowszky to carry the former into effect. These edicts were issued at the request of Archduke Stephen and of the whole of the Hungarian ministers. The Austrian ministers, Barons Wessenberg and Dobblhoff, who were also at Innspruck, were cognizant of these proceedings, and were in the habit of daily meeting the Hungarian ministers, Prince Eszterhazy and Count Batthyányi. But even then the Hungarian ministry wished to pursue an amicable course, and therefore called upon Archduke John to undertake the office of mediator between Croatia and Hungary; for they wished to try all possible means of adjusting the differences between the two countries, though the real demands of Croatia were not yet known in Hungary. The Archduke undertook the

mediation, came to Vienna, and summoned thither Baron Jellachich (who notwithstanding the royal decrees, had been well received at Court), and Count Louis Batthyányi, for some time, in the month of July, when he contented himself with bringing the two representatives together, and, without taking the slightest part in the negotiations, returned to Frankfort. A good understanding between the two countries was then evidently undesirable to the Court. When the two opponents met for the first time, Batthyányi inquired what were the views and difficulties of the Croats, for the Hungarians were prepared to concede every moderate demand. Jellachich replied, that he regarded as the basis of every possible understanding the abolition by the Hungarians of the Finance and War ministries sanctioned by the law of 1848, and the placing the army and finance under the immediate control of the Austrian ministry. Batthyányi remarked in reply, that that was an Austrian and not a Croatian question; and, therefore, not to be decided with Jellachich but with the Austrian ministry, who had as yet made no demand of that nature; and he again inquired what were the specific Croatian difficulties. Jellachich seemed to think them of no importance, and returned to his original proposition; the conference terminated therefore without any result.

"Such, then, was the 'intentional inactivity shown by Batthyányi in effecting a separation of the two countries,' and which he expiated with his life.

"At a much later period, when Jellachich had entered Hungary, without any cause, with an army of 65,000 men, Archduke Stephen, by the advice of Batthyányi, made another effort to obtain an amicable arrangement; he invited Jellachich to meet him on board a steamer on the Plattensee, and there, equally distant from the Hungarian and Croatian armies, to negotiate an amicable arrangement.

"Jellachich was again absent; but a theatrical effect was produced by his appearing on the borders of the lake surrounded by a body of his officers, who refused to permit (!!) him to go on board the steamer. If therefore intentional inactivity was really in fault in the breaking out of the war between Hungary and Croatia, it was most certainly not Batthyányi who deserved punishment; for he left no means untried by which a good understanding might be arrived at; on the contrary, it was Jellachich who was criminally and intentionally inactive in the matter.

"Let us, however, return to the accusation. The Hungarian Diet was opened on the 2nd of July, by Archduke Stephen, and the Chambers were required in the speech from the throne (which had been prepared at Innspruck, by the Austrian ministry in conjunction with the Emperor), to provide the necessary means of carrying on the war against the insurgent Servians, more particularly as the position of Croatia was becoming daily more and more dangerous.

"The Diet agreed to comply with the royal desire, and voted 60 millions florins and 200,000 recruits; 40,000 of which were to be raised immediately, and the others only in case of need. The proposed laws were submitted to the King for his sanction, about the end of August; but no answer was returned. At last the Emperor, on the 9th of Sept., at Schönbrunn, explained in answer to the solemn demand of the Diet, that he would guarantee the integrity of Hungary, and the inviolability of the laws of 1848; but that he could not, in their present form, accept the proposed laws in reference to the issuing of bank notes and the raising of recruits. The Batthyányi ministry at once resigned But immediately afterwards, on the 14th September, Count Batthyányi was requested by Archduke Stephen to form a new ministry, and the Emperor gave a willing consent to the step. Jellachich,

who had crossed the Drave on the 9th, continued meanwhile to advance, and was approaching the capital of Hungary. Batthyányi could not expose the city to be plundered by the Croats, and he therefore published the laws which, though they had not received the sanction of the Emperor, had not been directly refused by him. *This step was approved of by the Archduke Stephen,* who placed himself, though but for a short time, at the head of the newly-formed Hungarian army. Jellachich was beaten on the 29th of September at Sukoro, Nugent on the 8th of October at Kanisa, by the undisciplined Hungarians; two days afterwards, Roth and Philipovics surrendered themselves with 10,000 men at Ozora, and the Croatian campaign was at an end. Exactly one year afterwards, Batthyányi was executed, because, according to the accusations contained in the *Wiener Zeitung,* he had at the last moment created an army with which to withstand the invasion of the Croats, and had provided the means necessary for the maintenance of the troops.

"But the apology contains still further accusations. It says—

"'He was no less convicted of having taken an active part in sundry acts and measures which ultimately tended to separate Hungary from Austria, viz.:—the alteration in the uniform and accoutrements of the Hungarian army; the use of the Hungarian language for military commands; the military oath, which makes no mention of the Emperor of Austria; the seizure of the public funds in Hungary; the prohibition of Austrian bank notes in that country; and sundry other measures which tended to interrupt the commercial communications of Hungary with the other countries of Austria.'

"If these acts and deeds were really treasonable—though they are greatly falsified by the apologist in the *Wiener Zeitung*—why did the Emperor himself approve of them? Why did he not dismiss Batthyányi and his ministry on

the occurrence of the first offence— if offence it was? *Why was not Archduke Stephen, under whose presidency they were decided on, called to account?* When a monarch is discontented with his ministers, he dismisses them, and chooses others more agreeable to his views. Such is the custom in all constitutional states; but here the prime minister was allowed his own way during a period of seven months, and afterwards executed, under the sentence of a court-martial. It is a new kind of responsibility for ministers; they are not responsible to the parliament, but to the army; soldiers sit in judgment on political questions. The men of the sword decide with closed doors, and without permitting any defence, whether the ministers have or have not violated "the Pragmatic Sanction." Their sentence is executed by the rope, or by powder and ball; and romancing journalists publish afterwards the motives of the sentence, without bringing forward any proofs. These are called constitutional proceedings in Austria.

"'He was found guilty for having sent ambassadors of his government to the republican government of France and to the Regent of Germany, with intent to embarrass the Austrian government in its (even then precarious) relations with certain foreign powers, and which falls with a twofold vengeance upon the ex-President of the Hungarian cabinet, from the fact of the doubtful policy of France against Austria respecting the Italian question. For it is obvious that the old historical grudges which France bears to Austria, were likely to be directed against the crumbling state of Austria, and it cannot be denied that their being so directed might have led to a most ruinous war.'

"The Hungarian ministry sent Mr. Dionysius Pázmándy and Mr. Ladislas Szalay to Frankfort, and *Archduke Stephen in his own name gave them their credentials*; the Hungarian minister, Prince Eszterhazy, communicated the same, together with their instructions to the Austrian govern-

ment; Baron Pillersdorf approved of them; Archduke John received them in Frankfort as ambassadors from the Hungarian government, and Schmerling, (at that time one of the ministers of the Central Power, and now a member of the Austrian cabinet) entered into official communication with them. But the two archdukes, with Pillersdorf and Schmerling, are not called to account for the parts they respectively took in an act for which Count Batthyányi was condemned to death as a traitor.

"Count Teleki was sent to France in September, at a time when the policy of France towards Austria was no longer a wavering one; but after the mediation of France in Italian affairs had been accepted by the Austrian government, and when Batthyányi might reasonably expect that the same mediation might possibly be extended to Hungarian affairs also: for the war had already commenced with the unjustifiable invasion of Jellachich. The instructions given to Count Teleki were to that effect; his mission was an endeavour to avoid a war and to procure peace. And because the President of the Hungarian ministry left nothing untried in his endeavours to avoid a war and to promote an amicable understanding, his lot was death.

"These are the accusations against Batthyányi contained in the sentence of death which has been published: for it cannot be considered as a crime deserving punishment by death, that he, after having ceased to be a minister, should have attended the Diet as a deputy until the end of December, and have served some days as a private in the national guard in the Vidos corps; but the apologist in the *Wiener Zeitung* goes still further. According to his statement:—

"'Count Louis Batthyányi was also found guilty of having taken part in the Vienna rebellion of the 6th of October, 1848. It is proved by an autograph letter which Batthyányi addressed to Pulszky, on the 17th of September, that he offered M. Pulszky funds for the ostensible purpose of 'gaining the sympathies of the Viennese for the Hungarian kingdom and nation.' Batthyányi

himself confessed that he was aware of M. Pulszky's dangerous character as an agitator and champion of M. Kossuth. It has, moreover, been proved by witnesses that Batthyányi, on his journey from Vienna to Oedenburg, in the night of the 5th of October, said, 'that he had a vast deal of trouble to get the Viennese well peppered,' and that on the 7th of October he informed one of his friends in Oedenburg of the assassination of Latour, adding, with evident satisfaction: 'Yes, so it is, they have hanged that villain, Count Latour, and we in Hungary are all the better off for it.' It is on record, that at the time it was perfectly superfluous to gain the Vienna press for the Hungarians; and what Batthyányi said about gaining them, is shewn to be an empty pretence. It has lastly been proved, that Batthyányi's offer of funds was made use of, and that the sums of 4,000 florins and of 10,000 florins, for secret services, were spent on certain notorious individuals, such as Pulszky and others. The court combined these circumstances, and found Batthyányi guilty of having offered Pulszky those funds for the purpose of that person employing the said money in causing the rebellion of October, or as Batthyányi termed it, 'in peppering the Viennese,' and that the Count had consequently taken an active part in the said rebellion by purposely providing the ways and means for it.'

"It is well known that the Austrian government considered it of vital importance that the world should believe that the Vienna insurrection of the 6th October was caused by the liberal distribution of Hungarian money. The correspondents of the different papers spoke at first of millions, then of hundreds of thousands, and the author of this apology now reduces the sum to 14,000 florins, or about £1,400, and says that the openly acknowledged purpose of the cheque for 4,000 florins sent by Count Batthyányi on the 17th September for the purpose of "winning the sympathies of the press in favour of the Hungarian cause" was a mere pretence, because it is notorious that any attempt to engage the sympathies of the press of Vienna in favour of Hungary was quite superfluous, from the condition of affairs at that time.

"If, however, the author of this apology had inquired of the former courts-martial in Vienna, he would have found that exactly in the month of September, 1848, the press of Vienna was nearly unanimous in its attacks on the Hungarian minister; the Sclavonic party was united with the German in this question, and Hungary, which refused to give up its nationality, and destroy its aristocracy, was considered a dangerous enemy, as well by the Sclavonic and Bohemian parties, as by the democrats of Germany; and the Austrian government fanned the flame of polemics. Batthyányi and Kossuth were daily calumniated, and I was required by the Hungarian ministry, in September, to lay accusations against no less than five different periodicals, and pamphlets. So great was the sympathy of the Vienna press in our behalf! It is further notorious, that the Hungarian ministry possessed a semi-official organ in Vienna, the *Völkerbund;* but the moderate and dignified tone of this paper was not so likely to exercise any great influence, in consequence of the heated passions of the other journals, and of the little political education enjoyed by the public of Vienna; in the month of August it ceased to appear, and the cheque of 4,000 florins was partly used in liquidating the claims upon it, and partly also in publishing several well-known documents and pamphlets, throwing a light upon the Croatian confusion, and partly also in purchasing a copy of the important correspondence between Rajacsics, Stratimirovics, and the minister Latour. The remaining 10,000 florins were spent in recruiting the free corps, which marched against the insurgent Servians with the knowledge of Baron Dobblhoff, at that time Austrian Minister of the Interior, between whom and the Hungarian ministry a long correspondence had taken place on the subject. This enlistment of volunteers only commenced, however, when Jellachich had begun, in Vienna, publicly to enlist recruits for his army, likewise with the sanction of the ministry, and had posted placards

addressed to the students for the purpose of engaging them to raise a third free corps, which was established in Bohemia under Stùr and Hurban, with the acknowledged object of invading Hungary. Baron Dobblhoff could have afforded the most satisfactory information in this matter to the court-martial; but if we are to credit the statement of the author of the apology, the court-martial preferred considering it as notorious that the 14,000 florins had been used for the purposes of revolutionising Vienna. Its members, however, were well aware, from the results of the Windischgrätz inquiry, that it was impossible to prove the distribution of money; for, notwithstanding the proclamation of martial law and the numerous executions, no confession can be brought forward proving the receipt of Hungarian money on the 5th of October by anybody for the purpose of creating a disturbance or opposing the authorities on the 6th. The author of the "Apology" assumes that 14,000 florins were divided amongst the mob. We call upon him openly to declare by whom, and when and where, they were distributed. That upon this occasion the organ of men with the private character of Prince Schwarzenberg and the public one of a Dr. Alexander Bach and Ritter Von Schmerling, should be pleased to term me a "notorious individual," belongs only to the style of the journals which are the organs of martial law, and which, in order to prevent any one from attempting to elucidate the merits of this sentence, set out by denouncing all as enemies to civil order and civilisation who shall venture to defend Count Batthyányi.

"These then are the facts upon which the sentence of Count Batthyányi is based; but every one knows that he was executed because he adhered to the laws of 1848, and trusted to the solemn promises of a faithless monarch; because in his character as a minister he refused to follow the examples of those, who, though liberals previous to March, did not refuse to aid in bringing back step by step

the old system of despotism, and because he would not share the reputation of a Bach and a Schmerling. History will pronounce its verdict as to who was guilty of treason —whether the firm-minded Count Batthyányi, or those apostates who procured his execution, and whose policy is concentrated in the words, Populis non est servanda fides."

FRANCIS PULSZKY.

London, Nov. 16, 1849.

CHAPTER II.

THE BATTLE OF SCHWECHAT.

In Pressburg great activity reigned. Major Klapka* fortified the heights and the town. Old and young hastened to work at entrenchments. Hospitals were erected in the town; whence likewise the chief supplies were sent to the army, which encamped close to Posony, on the right bank of the Danube, from Köpcsény to Parendorf.

In the army itself opinions varied considerably, whether to overstep the frontier, or halt within its

* Klapka, afterwards commander of Komorn, distinguished by his animating courage, and crowned with success. He gained the first as well as the last victory against the Austrians; the 12th of January, at Tokaj against Schlick, and the 5th of August against Csorich at Komárom.

bounds. Csányi, the commissary of the country, and Ujházy, then commissary of Pressburg, were anxious to assist the Viennese, and in conjunction with them to beat Jellachich and the slowly gathering forces of Windischgrätz. The Hungarian troops likewise ardently desired to renew the combat against the followers of the Croatian leader, by whomever reinforced. On the other side Pázmándy, the President of the House of Commons, and Asztalos, one of the deputies, who were also with the army, opposed by all means the crossing of the boundaries, and their opinion was backed by the greater number of officers. The Viennese Diet had by this time, as the town was more and more enclosed by the Imperial troops, come to a resolution, which though not a definite summons to the Hungarian army, yet expressed that if it crossed the Austrian boundaries, this would not be considered an inimical act. But simultaneously came the tidings that Prince Windischgrätz had arrived before Vienna, with unlimited power from the Emperor, and would soon issue an explicit manifesto, which would solve every doubt, and sharply define that peculiar obscurity which at present kept the two opposed armies, to a certain extent, in ignorance whether they were to be friends or foes.

From Pest Kossuth approached with a reinforcement of 12,000 men—speedily collected volunteers

—and thirty cannons. Under these circumstances it was natural that the troops, who had already crossed the frontier, again halted, to await Kossuth. Meanwhile Windischgrätz had wholly surrounded Vienna, issued a manifesto, and communicated it to the Hungarian army. He said, that he had been appointed Commander, with unlimited powers, for the whole monarchy, with the exception of Italy, all civil and military power being concentrated in his hands. Without any precise expression of his intentions, without any intimation as to what might be hoped and feared, he summoned all staff-officers of the Hungarian army, to proceed without delay to his head-quarters.

Kossuth arrived at the Hungarian camp; my husband informed him of the state of things in Vienna: that if the Hungarian troops should advance, it was requisite to apprize the Viennese of it; and, if possible, to call Bem to the Hungarian camp, and come to an understanding with him on the plan of attack. To that purpose a letter was sent to Vienna. The courier succeeded in getting through the Austro-Croatian armies: the dispatch actually reached Messenhauser: but neither Bem, nor any other Viennese officer appeared in the Hungarian camp. Bem never had been informed of the message. Messenhauser, ever trusting in

the possibility of an agreement with the Court, had not communicated the letter.

The 24th of October, Kossuth came to the camp at Parendorf. He mustered the troops, inspiring them with glowing words to loud enthusiasm. On the following day, he assembled all the officers, read to them the proclamation of Windischgrätz, and declared every one free to leave the Hungarian army; but he likewise called upon them with the power of his eloquence to remain true to the country. At the conclusion of the first speech, the body of officers of every regiment was summoned to declare in writing, whether it would remain in the Hungarian service, and would fight against the enemies of the country, whoever these might be, or whether it would not? About a hundred officers, most of them foreigners, but likewise several Hungarians, declared, that under the reigning circumstances, they could no longer serve Hungary, and took their leave after they had pledged themselves not to fight against Hungary for six months. The next days were spent in re-organizing the staff of officers.

Colonel Iványka was sent as herald to Prince Windischgrätz with the summons to discontinue the bombardment of Vienna, and re-establish the intercourse between this town and Hungary, which

to the great damage of the country had been forcibly interrupted by the Austro-Croatian army. If the Prince would not listen to this, he would be considered an enemy.

Iványka had offered himself for this mission, deaf to the entreaties of his friends who tried to dissuade him from it. But his bride lived in the neighbourhood; he wanted to seize the opportunity to see her, and went. Next day, his companion, an officer of the national guard, returned very much alarmed, and related: "That Prince Windischgrätz had received them kindly, and discharged them, sending an Austrian officer to escort them through the Austrian army; but when they came to the camp of Jellachich, he retained Iványka prisoner, regardless of his inviolability as *parlementaire*."

The comrades of Iványka were indignant. The army, in which the gallant officer had been popular, became eager to meet the enemy, who, contrary to every law of nations, had imprisoned a *parlementaire*.

The 27th of October, the superior officers were called together. Kossuth was present at a council of war. The cannon shots directed against Vienna were audible. General Moga, the commander of the army, Colonel Kolmann, the chief of the staff, and Pázmándy, the President of the House of Commons, were absolutely averse to every offensive movement. They proposed that the army should

retire from the Austrian frontier, should abandon Vienna to its fate, and turn against General Simonich, who, several days before, had, with 12,000 men, broken from Galicia into Hungary, obviously with the aim of inciting the Sclavonic counties to an insurrection.

This scheme indeed failed; but easily overcoming the resistance which the national guards of the county of Trencsény opposed to him, he had approached Nagy-Szombath, (Tyrnau,) by the valley of the Vág. In the opinion of those gentlemen, Simonich might easily be cut off from the Austro-Croatian army before Vienna, and then would certainly be annihilated by Hungarians. Against this, Colonel Görgey voted for advancing, provided however that a man were entrusted with the command, whose name would be a guarantee against treachery—a man of whom every one knew, that if taken prisoner by the Austrians, the gallows would be his destiny. "General Móga," he said, "highly as he respected him, had for many a long year been an Austrian officer. His ancient comrades now stood in the enemy's ranks; the troops therefore had no reliance on him."

Görgey in giving this description of a commander, had pointed at himself. In the Isle of Csepel, on the 29th of September, he had, as President of a court-martial, sentenced the Count

Eugene Zichy to be hanged. The Count was carrying on his person proclamations of Jellachich, which summoned the Hungarian troops to desert; with these he had been taken prisoner by his own peasants, who brought him to Görgey. Before him he confessed his connection with Jellachich and with General Róth, to whom he had sent provisions. Nobody at that time was able to believe, that Görgey could ever be pardoned by the Austrians for the execution of Count Zichy. But only one year after this, General Moga, whom according to Görgey's expression, no one trusted, has been sentenced by the Austrians to five years heavy imprisonment, while Görgey lives undisturbed in Klagenfurt, under Austrian protection!

The younger members of the staff voted unconditionally for advancing. The roar of cannons carried by the wind from Austria to Hungary, and thrilling every heart with fellow-feeling for the inhabitants of the endangered capital, powerfully influenced this opinion.

Kossuth said: "Though Hungary stood in no connection with Vienna, yet it is a duty of honour to hasten to the aid of the Viennese, as they have risen in opposition to the war against Hungary. If we win a battle, it will decide the fate of the Austrian Monarchy and of all Germany; if we lose one, it will not discourage the nation, but will spur

it to the greater sacrifices. But to be passive at the very threshold of the scene of action, would lower the Hungarians with foreign countries, and in the country itself would cool enthusiasm." This reasoning decided.

The staff planned the detail of operations, and the order to advance was given the 27th of October.

On the following day the Hungarian army passed the frontier, and having traversed the intervening ground without opposition, by evening reached the river Fischa, near Enzersdorf and Neusiedel. The right wing remained in the rear, and not till the following morning occupied the position of Fischament. The country people in Austria greeted the Hungarian army with much sympathy; and, as it saw that nothing was taken with a high hand, but that food and carriage were paid with ready money in Austrian bank notes, there was no difficulty in providing the army with every thing necessary. In the night a great signal fire was lighted, close to the Fischa, on a hill, which, with the telescope, could be well distinguished from the tower of St. Stephen. Not far from that hill, in a wood, under a large tree, was the head-quarter. Kossuth and the generals sat here round a fire, roasted lard and baked potatoes, and slept on the dry foliage. The next day the troops slowly advanced; they had not yet met any resistance, and towards evening encamped

on the height, opposite to Mannswörth and Schwechat. In the distance the fires of the Austrian camp were visible.

The 30th of October, a heavy mist covered all around. No thunder of cannons resounded from the walls of Vienna, the steeple of St. Stephen's tower could not be seen: it therefore was not known, whether the besieged had observed the signal fire, which announced the approach of the Hungarian army, and whether they, in consequence, would be ready to support, by a sally, the attack of the Hungarians. If it could have been presaged, that Vienna had already, on the preceding day, made an armistice, and declared its willingness to capitulate, the Hungarian leaders certainly would not have been so rash, as with 30,000 men, 5,000 of whom were only armed with scythes, to attack the army of Windischgrätz consisting of 70,000 regular troops.

At eight o'clock in the morning, sounded the first cannon-shot from the Austrian army: the Hungarians greeted it with joyful "éljen" (hurrah).

At ten o'clock, Major Guyon charged with the bayonets, and gained possession of Mannswörth. The right wing advanced victoriously, and defeated the Croats, who opposed it. At noon it would have stormed Schwechat, but the left wing had not yet advanced. The cavalry of the enemy concentrated

here to outflank the Hungarians. Every moment a cavalry attack was expected from both sides, but it did not take place. The right wing, however, could not advance further, as the line would have been broken. A vigorous cannonade ensued, without serious damage on either side. The Hungarians thought every moment to hear the cannons roar from Vienna. The mist had subsided. In the city, it could no longer be unknown that a battle was going on in its neighbourhood. A deadly silence, however, reigned there, and the display of continually increasing numbers of troops on the Austrian side, plainly showed that Windischgrätz was able to dispose of his whole force, undistracted by any sally from Vienna, without which the battle could no longer be of service. In fact, all attack from the Hungarians alone was necessarily aimless. It was four in the afternoon: Moga wished to command a retreat, that at night he might resume his strong position on the heights behind the Fischa. But Kossuth, who, with my husband, was always at Moga's side, wanted to leave the Viennese a farther interval, for attempting their rescue. At that moment, two rockets fell in the midst of a battalion of peasants from the county of Komárom, who were only armed with scythes, and already began to lose steadiness by passive exposure to the cannonade during whole hours. Seized by terror, they fled,

and threw into confusion the right wing, which had fought so bravely. Thereupon, it became necessary to issue orders for the retreat, which was ably covered by the left wing, under Colonel Répásy, and by the reserve. Kossuth named Görgey who had bravely headed the vanguard, general on the battle-field itself, and hastened after the Komárom fugitives to bring them to a halt. This, he at last effected in Fischament. The troops could again be assembled, and they encamped. The enemy did not advance: he seemed unaware of the confusion in the right wing of the Hungarian army. But order was hardly restored, when a second panic seized the national guards of Komárom. This time, their flight could not be stopped, and they carried along, in wild disorder, the battalion which stood before them. Windischgrätz might then easily, with a single division of cuirassiers, have taken prisoner the whole right wing of the Hungarians; their centre could have been outflanked, and annihilated; but the Prince appears to have had no notion of the disorganization that reigned in the ranks opposed to him. The Székely infantry covered the retreat with a battery; no foe interfered. The Hungarians had lost about two hundred men; the Austrians nearly double. This was the whole material result of the battle of Schwechat.

My husband came to Posony with the rear-guard

of the right wing. He had driven to the battle-field with Kossuth; during the battle he remained on horseback at General Moga's side; at the retreat, he was in great part on foot; but at last an officer got a horse for him. He had had full opportunity of observing all that had been going on, and to form a judgment about the spirit of the army. The hussars had not been in the least discouraged by the battle, but the Hungarian foot-battalions were, as yet, utterly deficient in military composure. They consisted in a mixture of national guards, volunteers of all kinds, with few regular troops. Enthusiasm gave them union, but not unity. The officers, who had been just appointed, possessed the general confidence, but many of them had not the requisite military knowledge, and entertained the greatest distrust of General Moga. During the retreat, achieved in perfect order by the centre and the left wing, Moga had fallen with his horse, and gave in his resignation. In his stead, Görgey received the chief command.

Kossuth had not, for a moment, lost his energy. To raise the moral courage of the army, he directly sent an expedition against Simonich, who stood in Nagy-Szombath (*Tyrnau*). Guyon, who, in acknowledgment of his bravery at Mannswörth, had been made colonel, and now was appointed to his new duty, was too late to surprise the Austrian

general, who had retreated into Moravia, before the arrival of the Hungarians.

The first weeks of November were spent in Pressburg in re-organizing the Hungarian army. Kossuth discerned that Görgey possessed exactly that talent of organization which can develop and compose armies. When, therefore, General Bem came from Vienna to Posony wounded and in disguise, Kossuth thought it prudent to avoid all rivalry, and not to retain the Polish hero at the army, but send him for the moment to Pest.

All these particulars my husband related to me, when in November, after a separation of more than a month, we met again at Györ on the steam-boat, which conveyed us to Pest.

Whilst the events happened, which I have been narrating, I had, with one short interruption, been all along at Soprony, where my husband, when he left with Count Batthyányi, had entrusted me to the care of a friend. On the 10th of October, however, I returned by rail to Vienna, to recover our little boys, whom, on the 6th, I had left with my parents, not venturing to carry them with us, as I then did not know what circuits we might be obliged to take on account of the Croats.

When, late in the evening of the 10th, I arrived at the terminus in Vienna, I found it occupied by soldiers of Auersperg's. Notwithstanding this, the

passports were not strictly examined, and there was no difficulty in passing. I drove to town to my parents' abode. I was obliged to step out of the carriage on the place of St. Stephen, as there a small barricade prevented free communication. This, however, was a mock-barricade, only intended to aid the beggary of some urchins, who stood there to hand people over the scattered stones. Of effectual barricades I found hardly any trace on my road. The marks the cannon-balls had left in several walls, and less life than I had been accustomed to in the streets, were the only tokens of uncommon events and of an abnormal state. I found my mother had gone to Penzing with the children, whither accordingly I proceeded without delay. There I instantly packed up; for, aware of the approach of Jellachich towards Vienna, I was anxious to get away the little ones before the passage of the rail could be stopped. On the following morning I sent to some of our young Hungarian friends, employed in the ministry, and requested one of them especially to accompany me, and not to risk being cut off from Hungary. He objected, that he had not received his dismissal, and therefore was bound to remain. Poor young man, oh, that he had then come with me! True to his word, he quietly remained in the office, not taking any part in the Viennese revolution: nevertheless, he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, for

having (as the sentence of the court-martial says) hidden General Bem for twenty-four hours, after his proscription by Prince Windischgrätz.

The 11th I returned to Soprony. I anxiously expected tidings from my husband, which, however, I got but scantily. From the newspapers I first learnt that the Hungarian Diet had sent him back to Vienna. In Soprony of course every body was alive to the events of the day. Different as were the feelings amongst the old citizens and the young enthusiasts, yet there was but one unanimous cry of indignation against the Croatian hordes, a part of which, abandoned by Jellachich, ravaged the villages through which their way led. The direction to which they were compelled being known, the order was given to level the dike of Pomogy in the marshes of Esterház, and thus cut off the 18,000 men under Theodorovich; who, already disorganized by disease and plundering, could then easily have been defeated. But most of the officers of the National Guards of the county of Soprony, (of whom a great, and it seems the bravest, part were already gone down to the Croatian frontier,) most unwillingly left the comforts of their home for the unpleasant chances of a warlike expedition. At last they set out with great apparatus and noise.

Their return was as modest and silent a contrast to their marching off as Lent after Carnival; and it

was only by whispers that the details concerning the escape of the Croats were communicated. The trophies carried off by the valiant burghers of Soprony were sadly looking indeed—from thirty to forty miserable men, who had been caught and given up by the Sclavonic and German population of villages which had suffered from their robberies. That they had really committed such and other more cruel enormities, was practically proved by the money, rings, handkerchiefs, dresses, ribbons, &c., especially ornaments and attire belonging to *females*, found upon the wretches, when they were taken prisoners. Poor wretches indeed! such I found them, when I went with a Croatian gentleman to the room where they were confined. Many of them were old; all looked like peasants, as I had seen them during the famine, but certainly like the worst of them. Clad in rags, I recollect none with shoes; their feet were huddled up in torn remnants of coarse linen.

By my companion, who was the countryman of the poor victims, I inquired whether, if set at liberty, they would again invade Hungary? "Oh no!" was their reply: "we were forced to go, and were told we should return home well rewarded in four weeks: now more than double that time has elapsed, and we are miserable, far from our wives and children."

These were soldiers of Jellachich, represented by

his admirers as the chivalrous leader of gallant champions, whom his example and eloquence exalted to enthusiastic bravery!

No braver than the burghers of Soprony proved the citizens of Köszegh. Here the troops under Theodorovich escaped again, the National Guards giving way, before the Hussars in pursuit could overtake the Croats. Those of them who were taken prisoners in this affair were massacred in a dreadful way by the levy *en masse*, which had proved too cowardly to fight them. The perpetrators of this shameful deed were afterwards hanged by the Austrians.

The public feeling distinctly expressed itself for an inveterate pursuit of Jellachich: the lingering of the Hungarians, and the indecisive measures, of the Viennese occasioned general apprehension. After this, the fall of the Austrian capital, and the retreat of the Hungarians, filled many a heart with anguish, but took no one by surprise.

Letters of course were intercepted; my husband seldom got tidings from me, and was in great fear that I had fallen into the hands of the Croats in attempting to join him. Happily, my excellent friends in Soprony had dissuaded me from so hazardous an undertaking.

After a long year, containing ages of events, I remember with warm gratefulness the kind-hearted

friendship I experienced at Soprony, under one and the same roof with the wife of an officer in the Austrian army opposed to the ranks, in which my husband stood. This caused no disharmony; we feared and hoped together, with a different turn of mind, but both with feelings of love!

Whilst the Hungarian army had advanced in vain to the relief of Vienna, the Bishops of Hungary, who had been assembled in Pest, tried once more the often failed attempt of an understanding with the Court. The earnest endeavours in this direction, made by the diet, Count Batthyányi and the Archduke Stephen, had all proved fruitless. All means had been tried to avoid civil conflict. But where the statesmen had been powerless, the spiritual guardians still perhaps might hope to succeed. The Bishops, therefore, sent the following address to the Emperor at Olmütz:—

"Sire! Penetrated with feelings of the most profound sorrow, at the sight of the innumerable calamities, and the internal evils which desolate our unhappy country, we respectfully address your Majesty, in the hope that you may listen with favour to the voice of those, who, after having proved their inviolable fidelity to your Majesty, believe it to be their duty as heads of the Hungarian Church, at last to break silence, and to bear to the foot of the throne their just complaints, for the interests of the Church, of the Country, and of the Monarchy.

"Sire!—We refuse to believe that your Majesty is correctly informed of the present state of Hungary. We

are convinced that your Majesty, in consequence of your being so far away from our unhappy country, knows neither the misfortunes which overwhelm her, nor the evils which immediately threaten her, and which place the throne itself in danger, unless your Majesty applies a prompt and efficacious remedy, by attending to nothing but the dictates of your own good heart.

"Hungary is actually in the saddest and most deplorable situation. In the south, an entire race, although enjoying all the civil and political rights recognized in Hungary, has been in open insurrection for several months, excited and led astray by a party which seems to have adopted the frightful mission of exterminating the Magyar and German races, which have constantly been the strongest and surest support of your Majesty's throne. Several thriving towns and villages have become a prey to flames, and have been totally destroyed; thousands of Magyar and German subjects are wandering about without food or shelter, or have fallen victims to indescribable cruelty, for it is revolting to repeat the frightful atrocities by which the popular rage, let loose by diabolical excitement, ventures to display itself.

"These horrors were, however, but the prelude of still greater evils, which were about to fall upon our country. God forbid, that we should afflict your Majesty with the hideous picture of all our misfortunes. Suffice it to say, that the different races who inhabit your kingdom of Hungary, stirred up, excited one against the other by infernal intrigues, only distinguish themselves by pillage, incendiarism, and murder, perpetrated with the greatest refinement of atrocity.

"Sire!—The Hungarian nation, heretofore the firmest bulwark of Christianity and civilization against the incessant attacks of barbarism, often experienced rude shocks in that protracted struggle for life and death; but at no period did there gather over her head so many and so

terrible tempests, never was she entangled in the meshes of so perfidious an intrigue, never had she to submit to treatment so cruel, and at the same time so cowardly—and yet, oh! profound sorrow! all these horrors are committed in the name, and, as they assure us, by the order of your Majesty.

"Yes, Sire, it is under your government, and in the name of your Majesty, that our flourishing towns are bombarded, sacked, and destroyed. In the name of your Majesty, they butcher the Magyars and Germans. Yes, Sire! all this is done; and they incessantly repeat it, in the name and by the order of your Majesty, who nevertheless have proved, in a manner so authentic and so recent, your benevolent and paternal intentions towards Hungary—in the name of your Majesty, who in the last Diet of Presburg, yielding to the wishes of the Hungarian nation, and to the exigencies of the time, consented to sanction, and confirm by your royal word and oath, the foundation of a new constitution, established on the still broader foundation of a perfectly independent government!

"It is for this reason the Hungarian nation, deeply grateful to your Majesty, accustomed also to receive from her King nothing but proofs of goodness really paternal, when he listens only to the dictates of his own heart, refuses to believe, and we her chief pastors also refuse to believe, that your Majesty either knows or sees with indifference, still less approves, the infamous manner in which the enemies of our country and of our liberties compromise the kingly majesty, arming the populations against each other, shaking the very foundations of the constitution, frustrating legally-established powers, seeking even to destroy in the hearts of all, the love of subjects for their sovereign, by saying that your Majesty wishes to withdraw from your faithful Hungarians the concessions solemnly sworn to and sanctioned in the last Diet, and

finally, to wrest from the country her character of a free and independent kingdom.

"Already, Sire! have these new laws and liberties, giving the surest guarantees for the freedom of the people, struck root so deeply in the hearts of the nation, that public opinion makes it our duty to represent to your Majesty, that the Hungarian people could not but lose that devotion and veneration, consecrated and proved on so many occasions up to the present time, if it were attempted to make them believe that the violation of the laws, and of the government sanctioned and established by your Majesty, is committed with the consent of the King.

"But if, on the one hand, we are strongly convinced that your Majesty had taken no part in the intrigues so basely woven against the Hungarian people, we are not the less persuaded, that that people, taking arms to defend their liberty, have stood on legal ground, and that in obeying instinctively the supreme law of nations, *which demands the safety of all*, they have at the same time saved the dignity of the throne and the monarchy, greatly compromised by advisers as dangerous as they are rash.

"Sire! We, the chief pastors of the greatest part of the Hungarian people know better than any others their noble sentiments; and we venture to assert, in accordance with history, that there does not exist a people more faithful to their monarchs than the Hungarians, when they are governed according to their laws.

"We guarantee to your Majesty, that this people, such faithful observers of order and of the civil laws in the midst of the present turmoils, desire nothing but the peaceable enjoyment of the liberties granted and sanctioned by the throne.

"In this deep conviction, moved also by the sacred interests of the country and the good of the Church, which sees in your Majesty her first and principal defender, we, the Bishops of Hungary, humbly entreat your Majesty

patiently to look upon our country now in danger. Let your Majesty deign to think a moment upon the lamentable situation in which this wretched country is at present, where thousands of your innocent subjects, who formerly all lived together in peace and brotherhood on all sides, notwithstanding differences of races, now find themselves plunged into the most frightful misery by their civil wars.

"The blood of the people is flowing in torrents—thousands of your Majesty's faithful subjects are, some massacred, others wandering about without shelter, and reduced to beggary—our towns, our villages are nothing but heaps of ashes—the clash of arms has driven the faithful people from our temples, that have become deserted—the mourning Church weeps over the fall of religion, and the education of the people is interrupted and abandoned.

"The frightful spectre of wretchedness increases and developes itself every day under a thousand hideous forms. The morality, and with it the happiness of the people, disappear, in the gulph of civil war.

"But let your Majesty also deign to reflect upon the terrible consequences of these civil wars; not only as regards their influence on the moral and substantial interests of the people, but also as regards their influence upon the security and stability of the monarchy. Let your Majesty hasten to speak one of those powerful words which calm the tempests!—the flood rises, the waves are gathering, and threaten to engulf the throne!

"Let a barrier be speedily raised against those passions excited and let loose with infernal art amongst populations hitherto so peaceable. How is it possible to make people who have been inspired with the most frightful thirst—that of blood—return within the limits of order, justice, and moderation?

"Who will restore to the regal Majesty the original purity of its brilliancy, of its splendour, after having

dragged that Majesty in the mire of the most evil passions? Who will restore faith and confidence in the Royal word and oath? Who will render an account to the tribunal of the living God, of the thousand of individuals who have fallen, and fall every day, innocent victims to the fury of civil war!

"Sire! our duty as faithful subjects, the good of the country, and the honour of our religion, have inspired us to make these humble but sincere remonstrances, and have bid us raise our voices! So, let us hope, that your Majesty will not merely receive our sentiments, but that, mindful of the solemn oath that you took on the day of your coronation, in the face of Heaven, not only to defend the liberties of the people, but to extend them still further—that mindful of this oath, to which you appeal so often and so solemnly, you will remove from your royal person the terrible responsibility that these impious and bloody wars heap upon the throne, and that you will tear off the tissue of vile falsehoods with which pernicious advisers beset you, by hastening with prompt and strong resolution, to recal peace and order to our country, which was always the firmest prop to your throne! in order that, with Divine assistance, that country, so severely tried, may again see prosperous days; in order that, in the midst of profound peace, she may raise a monument of eternal gratitude to the justice and paternal benevolence of her King.

"Signed at Pest, the 28th Oct. 1848,

"THE BISHOPS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH OF HUNGARY."

Bishop Fogarassy, who in the names of the Bishops presented this address at Olmütz, was ungraciously received and dismissed with an empty answer. The difficulties of the empire were not

submitted to the decision of moral powers; the ideas of the age were met with battle, not with argument. But if the voice of the Bishop met with no willing ear at Court, the following pastoral letter, addressed to the people, was eagerly listened to.

PASTORAL LETTER OF THE CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF HUNGARY TO THE FAITHFUL.

"Health and blessing to our dear brethren in Christ!

"Our weakness has always been in need of the consolation and support of religion; but it particularly requires this assistance when extraordinary evils afflict us. It is then that we require a supernatural strength, to enable us to fulfil our duties. The Holy Catholic Church, faithful to the examples of the first Christians, although addressing herself daily to the Source of health and blessing, to implore the enjoyment of our earthly existence, hastens to invite the faithful to public prayer, in these days of imminent peril, when the greatest sorrow afflicts the soul.

"In this time of desolation, when the hatred sown between races, hitherto living in perfect harmony, destroys the peace of our native country; when a ruthless enemy, murdering and pillaging, commits the greatest atrocities, we have commanded the pastors of churches confided to our directions, to celebrate extraordinary religious services, as long as the sad condition of our country continues unameliorated!

"When six months ago, our constitution, eight centuries old, was modified at the Diet of Presburg, according to the exigencies of the times and the wishes of the nation, and its benefits extended to all the sons of our native land, without distinction of class, language, or creed; when the independent government, sanctioned by the King, received its powers, no one would have believed

it possible ever to attack that free constitution, or to excite the other races against the Hungarians.

"The good that was obtained having become the good of all, the sincere alliances of races ought on the contrary to have been strengthened; barriers and walls amongst races, as amongst classes, ought to have fallen for ever.

"With what joy we saw liberty and civil rights extended to our fellow-countrymen—with what eagerness we passed forward to facilitate the realization of the wishes of the country—we have proved by the sacrifices we have imposed upon ourselves. We were convinced, that if the liberty of the entire people, and consequently that of our faithful Catholics, was increased; that if they acquired the means of ameliorating their lot, our holy Church would become greater through the spiritual and material elevation of her children, and that they would attach themselves more closely to her in praising the Lord for the benefits with which he had covered us, by the hands of the legislators of the country.

"It is for this reason that we hastened to make known to the clergy of our dioceses, that they should point the attention of their hearers to the greatness and liberality of the new laws, in order that the faithful m' ,ht conscientiously fulfil their duties, (particularly o' dience to the King, and to the legal authorities), whic' their new rights imposed upon them.

"To our intense sorrow, the peace of our country has been troubled for several months; but at least it is a consolation to us, to see that our exhortations in favour of obedience and patriotism have not been uttered in vain.

"Thanking God for this result, and grateful for the noble conduct of the clergy of our diocese, we entreat them, as well as all the faithful, with the ' derest expression of fatherly love, still to observe th.. indefatigable zeal, their immovable fidelity to order, to repel the overtures of the anarchists, and to obey sincerely the com-

mands of the authorities charged with the defence of the country. Let them abstain from every violation of the laws, divine and civil; let them exhibit in everything an entire submission to the authorities, who are exerting their utmost to re-establish order and public peace. It is to them those words of the apostle of nations applies: 'There is no power on earth which does not come from God, and it is He who has established all those that are upon the earth.'

"But as the fate of the people is in the hands of God; as, if He allows our country to be laid waste by war, He is sufficiently good and sufficiently powerful to calm the tempest, to cause serene days of happiness, peace, and union again to flourish; as our arms and our strength are insufficient to save the country;—we expect the faithful of our Church, before all things, to invoke the goodness of the Almighty, to pray Him to restore us tranquillity, to enlighten the understandings of those whom our enemies have led astray, and who are fighting in the name of an imaginary freedom, at the very time when freedom is granted to them, and when nothing remains for them but to gather the fruits in peace.

"Press forward into our churches, round the altar of the Lord. If you trust in God, if you derive your strength from religion, you will be strong, persevering in the struggle, prepared for every patriotic service; for he follows the law, who, according to the precepts of the gospel and of the Apostles, follows it by obedience, not to men, but to God; freely and without constraint.

"We exhort you, our dear brethren in Christ, to be of unflinching fidelity to your country, of courageous devotion in her defence, of sincere obedience to the authorities, who in this hour of danger, are obliged to ask you for greater services than heretofore. Be convinced that they are endeavouring to win your liberty, and with it your

happiness on earth. Consider it is your most sacred duty to submit yourselves to the legal authorities of the country; to live amongst them in peace and love, mutually to assist each other, to sustain the weak, to encourage the timid, to punish the enemies of order. Have patience and courage, and hope in the grace of God, which, far from allowing you to sink under the weight of battle, will recompence your perseverance by the blessings of peace. To Him, the Eternal King, the Immortal Lord, invisible and wise, be glory and praise for ever and ever. Amen!"

CHAPTER III.

THE SERBS AND WALLACHS.

Most of the dreadful cruelties mentioned in the address of the Bishops were committed by the Serbs in the lower parts of the country. I have not spoken before of their insurrection, not to withdraw attention from the scenes going on before our eyes; but now I shall attempt to sketch connectedly the outlines of the events in Lower Hungary.

Of all the Sclavonian races in Hungary, the Serbs* are the most vigorous. With few exceptions, they belong to the Oriental church, and are subordi-

* The Serbs are likewise called Racz; in the history of the middle-ages their names often vary. They are called Serbli, Servi, Rasciani, Illyri. Those of them who became Catholics bear the name of Sokacz or Bunyevácz.

nated to their Metropolitan of Karlovitz. One part of them descends from the primitive inhabitants of Hungary; but the last settlement of the great bulk of them dates from a considerably later period. It was when Prince Eugene of Savoy had driven the Turks from Hungary, that the Emperor Leopold I., in the second half of the seventeenth century, engaged all Christians residing in the Turkish provinces at the frontier, to settle on the uncultivated but fertile ground of lower Hungary. In consequence of this, the Patriarch Arsenius Csernovics came with forty thousand Serbian families over the frontier, and settled at the fan-like confluence of the four rivers—the Danube, the Tisza (Theiss), the Drave, and the Save. Considerable privileges were granted to these new settlers; the free exercise of their religion, the election of the Metropolitan, and of their civil chief, the Woiwod. In exchange for this, they had the obligation to protect the frontier against the Turks. During the civil wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, they were often used by Austria against the Hungarians, and by this, a hatred was inflamed between the two races, which a whole century of peace could not completely extinguish.

By little and little, however, the privileges of these Serbs were modified by Austria. One part of them became a separate incorporation, entitled the

"Military Frontier;" and when Lower Hungary grew more peopled by Germans, Wallachs, and Hungarians, the dignity of the Woiwod declined. Those who had not been incorporated into the military frontier were organized into counties, with privileges equal to that of the rest of the country; and the wealthier proprietors amongst them intermixed and identified themselves with the Hungarian nobility. But in religious matters, the Serbs had many well-founded complaints. Since 1790, they were no longer permitted to hold a Synod and to control their own concerns, in regard to the churches and the schools. The strictly Roman Catholic turn of the Austrian rulers occasioned many encroachments of the Romish clergy upon the Oriental church. But the most oppressive measure for the Serbs certainly was the organization of the military frontier.

By this name is designated the narrow tract of land, extending from the Adriatic along the Save and the Danube, straight to Mehadia, and the borders of Wallachia. In the north of Transylvania, and the land of the Székelys (Szeklers) the institutions of the military frontier were likewise established with some essential modifications. In Croatia, the territory of the military frontier mainly consists of the properties once belonging to the families Torquati, Frangepani, and Zrinyi. These

estates had partly by escheatage, partly by confiscation, come into the possession of the crown. In the Banat, the military frontier is constituted on tracts, which only after the battle of Zenta were left by the Turks, and then (after indemnification had been guaranteed to all these private families, who could prove their titles of property) were disposed of by the Government.

All those tracts are divided into "regiments," and are kept entirely under military rule. According to this, no individual property exists there; the schemes of Louis Blanc and Proudhon are put in action. From four to eight families together form one "Session," and cultivate its grounds in common, under the control of an Austrian officer, who according to his judgment appoints one of the members of the "Session" to be "Patriarch," or family chief. This person has the duty of providing with shelter, food, and clothing, all the individuals belonging to the Session. He is answerable for the good cultivation of the fields, for the punctual payment of the taxes, and for always maintaining at least two members of the Session as soldiers. Every male inhabitant of the military frontier is destined from his very birth to become a soldier. In every regiment, at least two battalions are constantly under arms; one of these attends to the service of the frontier against the Turks, whilst the other is being

drilled. Neither of them get pay as long as they are kept in their fatherland, at the expence of their respective Sessions. Besides these two sets of battalions, the men of a third set must ever be ready to take arms. When Austria, in case of war, calls the first set of battalions from their home, the second set steps into the place of the first, to attend the service of the "cordon" against the Turks. The third then in the course of a week is under arms, and a fourth is formed. If the second and third set of battalions likewise must march, then the fourth, fifth, sixth, and in case of need, even the seventh and eighth are constituted. Three always remain in the country, the others proceed to war.

The soldiers of the military frontier get the same pay as all other Austrian soldiers, but only when they are out of their country; moreover, the booty they get in war is their own, of which they may freely dispose, even when they return to their Sessions. Except in this regard, no one has any property; not even the Patriarch is to be excepted, for he is only the manager for all the members of the Session, and can at any moment be dismissed by the ruling officer.

As over the whole military frontier no civil law or civil court exists, but martial law and martial courts reign alone, of course no industry can expand

itself; nor does any one feel the oppressive consequences of these institutions more than the inhabitants of the towns of those districts—Zeng, Carlopago, Petrinia, Brod, Pétervárad, Karlovicz, Bellovár, Zemlin, Pancsova, Weisskirchen. A part of these citizens are German colonists, but all are subordinated to the military service and rule. They have a common council, but presided over by an officer.

The inhabitants of the military frontier are bound to remain on their soil. They are not allowed to emigrate to any other part of the monarchy; and those only who are unfit for military service, or who are specially favoured by the Imperial Council of War may become artizans, artists, merchants, &c. Even to attend the higher schools, they all require express permission.

How prejudicially such a system must act on the culture of those districts—how oppressive it must prove to the inhabitants—how much it necessarily demoralizes in war the character of the soldiers, as a kind of premium is set on plunder and robbery,—all this is obvious. To this must be added the despotic turn of mind habitual to the Austrian officers, who here, without exception, have the complete administration of civil concerns likewise; for no civil authorities, no free municipal institutions are granted. It, therefore, has long since been confessed that the

inhabitants of the military frontier are the most oppressed and the most unhappy within the Austrian realm. But as the institutions of this tract of land convert it into a cheap and almost inexhaustible seminary of soldiers, the complaints of its inhabitants were never attended to.

They likewise were not under the administration of Hungary and Croatia, to which countries they lawfully and geographically belonged; nor even under the control of the Viennese ministry, but in every point, even as to their civil and mercantile concerns, they fall under the immediate command of the Viennese Imperial Council of War (Hofkriegsrath).

When, in consequence of the laws sanctioned in April, 1848, the administration of the military frontier was transferred from the Austrian Council of War to the Hungarian Ministry, it was expressly stipulated, that the organization of the military frontier should never be altered without the consent of the Viennese Ministry of War. When, therefore, during the first excitement, in spring, the inhabitants of Weisskirchen and Pancsova deposed their military mayor, and sent deputations to the Hungarian ministry with the request of civil administration and municipal institutions, the Hungarian government lay under a disability to fulfil these wishes.

The Council of War in Vienna, which, in that

time had exchanged its name for Ministry of War, judged, that after the fall of the old system, no law at all any longer existed in the monarchy; that no promise was to be sacredly kept, and that in consequence every authority was to assume as much sway as possible. Jellachich did this; and, in fact, laid hand upon the administration of the Croatian frontier. As to the military borders of Sclavonia and of the Banat, which were peopled in greatest part by Serbs, less by Wallachs, Germans, and Hungarians —secret instructions to the officers were issued by the Viennese ministry to protest against, and, if occasion served, to thwart the Hungarian ministry. The Wallach and German borderers did not heed such orders: they kept to the law publicly sanctioned by the monarch, not to secret instructions. The Serbs, on the contrary, the Csaikist battalion and the Peterwardein regiment, soon found occasion to accomplish the desires of the Viennese ministry of war.

To satisfy the wishes ever reiterated for half a century, relative to the concerns of their churches and schools, Baron Eötvös, Hungarian Minister of Public Instruction, as early as in April, gave permission to the followers of the Greek Church to hold a synod. But Rajacsics, the Metropolitan of Karlovitz, feared such a convocation, because by him and his predecessors many ecclesiastical foundations

had been withdrawn from their primitive destination, and he apprehended diminution of his income and his influence.

The excitement favoured from Vienna in the military districts, began likewise to spread to the Serbs in the Banat. Agrarian violences at Kikinda had to be punished and suppressed with military force, and by this the dissatisfaction was heightened. Rajacsics, therefore, thought this occasion favourable enough to give to the agitation a thoroughly political turn, thus to forward the views of the Camarilla, and to get offices, dignities, and privileges for himself and his adherents. Under pretence of a conference preparatory to the Synod, he assembled on the 12th of May a number of Serbian priests, several landed proprietors, and many inhabitants of the military frontiers at Ujvidék (Neusatz). On the 15th, they proceeded to Karlovitz. Numerous guests from the Turkish principality of Serbia likewise attended. The discussions were opened with the enumeration of all the grievances, which had accumulated for centuries. Rajacsics fanatically excited the mass of the people. He unfolded at the altar in the cathedral the original documents, containing the grant of privileges made by the Emperor Leopold to the Serbs, and solemnly declared that the time had come when they could conquer their national independence.

The people applauded him with joyful accclamations, proclaimed him Patriarch of the Serbs, and elected Colonel Stephen Suplikatz, a native borderer, who was then serving in Italy, to be their Woiwod. Further, it was resolved, that all land where the Serbs resided, and somewhat more, should be taken from Croatia and Hungary, and constituted into the new Serbian Woiwodina, directly depending on the Emperor. To effect this, a central committee was formed, under the presidency of Rajacsics, who took upon himself the administration of the new State that was to be founded.

Jellachich and the Croats were to be apprized of all this, and Rajacsics was empowered to promise the support and aid of the frontier regiments to Jellachich, if he recognized the Woiwodina. The Patriarch was to go with a deputation to the Emperor to obtain the ratification of these resolutions.

Hardly had the tidings of this event become public, when, every where in the Peterwardein regiment and Csaikisten battalion, committees were formed, which established communications with the central committee. The inhabitants of those districts seized the arms and took into possession the arsenals and the ammunition, which were delivered up to them by the officers without resistance. They occupied the Roman intrenchments, ancient Roman walls, not

far from the confluence of the Tisza and the Danube, and fortified themselves there.

In this stage of affairs, Jellachich did not shew great inclination to identify his cause with the Serbian plot. Though he remained in friendly intercourse with Rajacsics, and distinguished him at the Croatian Diet, which he himself called together on the 5th of July, he was yet unwilling to send officers to the Serbs. Both Rajacsics and Jellachich went together to the court at Innspruck; where Jellachich—although the Emperor had, on the 10th of June, on account of his disobedience, declared him a high traitor—was received most graciously;* Rajacsics, on the contrary, very coldly. In fact, the Emperor told the latter distinctly, that he ought to comply with the law, and submit to the Hungarian ministry.

By this time the Serbs in Karlovitz had grown bolder, and openly called upon their brethren throughout the whole military frontier to join them.

* Relative to this reception of Jellachich at Court, a characteristic anecdote was told. Jellachich was summoned in an official audience to justify his actions; but directly afterwards was invited by the Archduchess Sophia in these words: "My dear Ban, I expect you this evening to tea." Jellachich replied: "Imperial Highness, I am now no longer anything but high-traitor!" To this the Archduchess replied: "Then, my dear high-traitor, I expect you to tea."

General Hrabovszky, the commander of Petervárad (Peterwardein), was at last compelled forcibly to oppose the daily increasing rebellion. He summoned Karlovitz to submit to him. When the Committee refused obedience, he, in consequence, at Whitsuntide, ordered some battalions to march against the town. The Serbs met them with musket shots, but were soon dispersed with the loss of several men. Some rockets set the thatched roofs of the suburbs on fire; after this Hrabovszky thought the rebels sufficiently punished, and returned to the fortress.

The Serbs availed themselves of this first defeat to fanaticise their people. They spread the report everywhere, that Hrabovszky had set their cathedral on fire, that he had destroyed the palace of the Metropolitan, bombarded the town, and murdered the inhabitants in cold blood. The borderers, excited by these tales, were no longer satisfied with the partial insurrection in the military districts, but sought, arms in hand, to propagate it. The Hungarian ministry were anxious to crush this insurrection speedily, and therefore appointed Peter Csernovics, great-grandson of the Patriarch Arsenius, who had led the Serbs into Hungary, as Commissary with military power, and with the charge to re-establish order by gentle, or if necessary, by forcible measures. Csernovics called upon his countrymen to

submit to the law, and to bring their complaints before the ministry. They refused obedience, but requested an armistice till the return of their Patriarch Rajacsics from Innspruck. Csernovics granted this, and withdrew the troops; but the Serbs, regardless of the armistice, on the 4th of July, crossed the Francis canal from the Roman intrenchments, occupied Szent-Tamás, a large village of mixed population, murdered and drove away the Hungarian inhabitants, and fortified this place on the sides which were not secured by marshes and by the canal. They likewise attacked the Hungarians on the other side of the Tisza; and first, those Hungarian boroughs which lay within the military districts, and were naturally averse to join the rebellion. Thus Debelliács was burnt, Uzdin too; the inhabitants plundered and driven from their hearths. Then came the turn of the German town Fehértemplom (Weisskirchen). Its citizens, however, bravely defended themselves, and defeated the Serbian hordes, which then took to inroads into the counties of Temes and Torontál. But on the open field they were beaten everywhere by the troops stationed in those parts, at Versecz, Ecska, and Paulis. Most of these troops were not Hungarians, but Galicians, Bohemians, and Germans. The Hungarian regiments were not within the kingdom, but were dispersed over the monarchy; several of

them were serving in Italy. Hungary itself was almost without any troops. Not more than 18,000 soldiers were in the country; of which the majority were foreigners, and the small number of Hungarians had, with few exceptions, foreign officers. When the Serbs noticed that the officers who commanded in the ranks opposed to them, never pursued their victory further than to the boundary of the military districts, they adopted another system. They established fortified camps within the military frontier, intrenched these, and made from hence expeditions to the adjoining counties, marking their presence by plunder, burnings, and cruelties of the most barbarous kind. Owing to this they were in turn treated by the Hungarians as robbers, and two of their leaders, Stanimirovics and Koics, who, at Versecz, fell into the hands of the Hungarian troops, were immediately hanged by court-martial.

The most considerable of the Serbian intrenchments were: Vracsegaj, Alibunár, Perlasz, Földvar, and especially Szent-Tamás, to which they had given the name of Serbobran, (Servian shield). From hence they made incessant sallies, burned Hungarian villages in the neighbourhood, for instance the thriving borough of Temerin, and filled with terror the whole county of Bács and the Banat.

The Hungarian ministry now sent General Bechtold, a clever officer, against the Serbs. He was on his mother's side related to Count Batthyányi, who, on this account, placed full confidence in him. Yet under his command the war was not at all more zealously conducted; it daily grew more obvious, that the Austrian officers did not intend any serious contest with the rebels.

Thrice it was in vain attempted to take Szent-Tamás by storm. The cannon-balls of the Hungarian army never hit; the sallies of the Serbs were not sharply repelled; and no doubt could be entertained that Bechtold (who is still in the Austrian service) and the other officers were obeying secret instructions from the Viennese ministry of war to spare the Serbs.

The Serbs themselves fought under an Austrian standard. Austrian officers headed them, and it was publicly known that Lieutenant-Colonel Mayerhoffer, Austrian Consul in Belgrád, was supplying them with arms and ammunition. Danilovich, the Russian Consul, had as early as the end of May offered Russian aid to the Metropolitan Rajacsics, if he would claim it from the Emperor of Russia, as the Protector of the Eastern Church. Rajacsics declined this, and communicated it to Mayerhoffer, who then yet more actively supported the rebellion.

The Hungarian government hereupon requested

the Austrian ministry to fulfil the promise given by the King, that all Hungarian regiments—except those who stood in Italy before the enemy—should return to their country, instead of the foreign troops still stationed there, and that simultaneously facilities should be granted to the Hungarian officers, serving in foreign regiments, to exchange their places, and to be transferred to Hungarian regiments. But the Austrian Minister of War only did what was of contrary tendency: in a session of the Viennese parliament in the month of August, he openly called the war against the Serbs an *unnatural* one, in which the officers could but unwillingly take part. When these expressions reached the German officers in the Hungarian army at the counties of Bacs, Temes, Torontál, and Krassó, they grew still more inactive.

To swell the scanty numbers of their troops, the Hungarian ministry put in motion the national guards of several counties. This, however, proved an unlucky measure. The people disliked to leave home, the expenses were considerable, the result null, as the national guards, at that period, did not stand the fire.

The ministry, therefore, yet in June, formed ten battalions, every one of a thousand volunteers. These entered into an engagement to serve their fatherland, in all its parts, but not beyond its

boundaries; as they did not choose to expose themselves to be marched against the Italians, for whom the Hungarians had much sympathy. The volunteers, therefore, adopted the name of Honvéd, *home defender*. These young troops very soon got used to the fire, and became the nucleus of the later so glorious Hungarian army. The third and the ninth battalions especially, so early as in the contest with the Serbs, gained more than one laurel; namely, in the defence of the town of Weisskirchen, when it was attacked the second time by very superior numbers.

In the beginning of September, the Serbs again met several defeats. On the second, the brigade of the Hungarian Colonel Kiss was attacked in the vicinity of Becskerek by the Serbs; but they were beaten, and pursued to their stronghold of Perlasz, which was taken by storm. But as the Hungarian brigade was not sufficiently supported, it could not advance as far as Pancsova. Colonel Kiss, therefore, only destroyed the fortifications of Perlasz, and retired to his former position. In the same manner, Vracsegaj was destroyed on the 5th, by a sally from Weisskirchen. But all this did not quench the excitement of the Serbs. When they saw that Jellachich was advancing against Hungary, their rapacious passions were inflamed anew. They intrenched themselves at Tomasovátz, and on the 15th

broke into the castles of Colonel Kiss at Aradacz and Elemér.

This brave officer, (who, one year after this event, was executed by Haynau at Arad), attacked them, directing the cannons against his own castle of Elemér, to expel the robber-enemy.

Barbarous as the cruelties were, which the Serbs everywhere committed, (for they slaughtered defenceless women, feeble old men, children, and babes), it is no less certain, that during this war they proved brave and enduring. They never accepted pardon. The wildest and boldest amongst them were obviously those Serbs, Arnouts, and Montenegrins, who had come from the Turkish territory, on the opposite side of the Danube, to aid their brethren. They were about 6,000 well-armed men, freebooters, led by Knicsanin, who could neither read nor write, but well understood how to handle his sword. Some Polish officers directed the works of the intrenchments,* and Mayerhoffer, the Austrian Consul at Belgrád, was the soul of the whole rebellion.

But the Serbian war took another turn, when news arrived of the defeat of Jellachich, of the surrender of the Generals Roth and Philippovich, and of the Viennese revolution. The Serbs rested

* Yet many have been strangely scandalized that the Hungarian army had three Polish generals!

on their arms, and made no more sallies. But neither could the Hungarians advance offensively; for the troops, which were not Hungarians, now openly refused obedience, and threw themselves into the fortresses of Arad and Temesvár, the commanders of which declared themselves against the Hungarians, and closed the gates. The citizens of Arad remained faithful to Hungary; in consequence of which, their town was repeatedly bombarded from the fortress.

In the meantime, Suplikatz, who, having been in May elected Woiwod by the assembly at Karlovitz, was subsequently promoted from colonel to general, and ratified as Woiwod by the Emperor, had returned from Italy. He was a man of humane feelings, who threatened sternly to punish every cruelty of his people, who suspended all hostile proceedings, and even seemed ready for a good understanding.

Whilst the Serbian insurrection had thus taken a turn, which gave room to hope for a favourable conclusion, tidings of the most afflicting kind came from Transylvania. But, to depict these faithfully, I must return to the events of March, and relate in some connexion the Transylvanian affairs.

The crisis of March in Vienna and Hungary had naturally made a great impression in Transylvania likewise. This country, which, since the great

defeat sustained from the Ottomans at Mohacs, A.D. 1526, had been separated from Hungary, and whose re-union had repeatedly been promised by Charles III., Marie-Therese, Leopold and Francis, had, in its development, not kept pace with the rest of the kingdom. All patriotic statesmen of Transylvania had long been aware, that only by the annexation of their fatherland to Hungary could more vigorous improvement be achieved. *Union*, therefore, became the motto of the party of progress, whilst the reactionaries in Vienna and Transylvania availed themselves of every means to prevent the annexation. To this end, the Saxons in Transylvania were especially made use of. The threads of all these intrigues were gathered into one in the hands of the Councillor Baron Rosenfeld in Vienna, and in those of the Saxon Count, Salmen, in Herrmannstadt. As tools for these schemes, the Wallachs were designed.

By a great defect in the ancient Transylvanian Constitution, the great mass of Wallachian inhabitants of that country had no political position whatever. They were peasants, not like those of Hungary, whose duties and rights were fixed by the law, but mere serfs.

Whilst three nationalities, the Hungarian, the Székely (*Szekler*), and the Saxon, were acknowledged, and endowed with equal rights, by the laws

of Transylvania, and were the only freeholders of the soil, the Wallach was, nearly without exception, shackled by a serfdom, which already for seventy years had vanished in its neighbouring mother-country, Hungary. Bound to the soil on which he was born, it was only with his master's permission that the Wallach might employ his faculties in one or another mode, to learn a profession, or to devote himself to any branch of knowledge. Owing to this, men of learning can only be met with quite exceptionally among this nation in Transylvania. Their nobility, of course, assimilated itself to the Hungarian aristocracy. Nowhere, however, are the hardships of this oppressive state more striking, than in the land of the Saxons, where, in fact, for several years, a controversy was carried on in German papers between the Saxons and the Wallachian clergy, who complained of oppression. There are, indeed, in those parts, places to be found, in which, with a Saxon community of three or four families, a Protestant clergyman gets a yearly income from six to eight hundred pounds sterling from the Wallachian inhabitants of the village, who are of the Eastern Church. This is an immense sum for Transylvania, where many royal officers, with large families, live contentedly with an income of from thirty to forty pounds. Eighty pounds is the pay of officers of a higher rank. The Wallach is bound to

pay to the Saxon clergyman, not only tithes, but likewise fees for baptisms, weddings, and burials, while the Greek priest, who must be kept by the same Wallachian alone, has to perform all religious functions. The Saxons, likewise, give to the Wallachs but a scanty share in the public offices.

The Hungarian and Székely inhabitants of Transylvania, with unexampled enthusiasm and generosity, were willing to renounce their historical privileges, and ready to make large pecuniary sacrifices for the furtherance of the progress and prosperity of their fatherland. The Saxons, on the contrary, entered into the plans of the Camarilla, and became the tools of the reaction.

Some days before the meeting of the Transylvanian Diet, which was convoked for the end of May, the newspapers of Kolosvár (Klausenburg) published the secret instructions which the civil officers had received from the Saxon Committee, formed by partisans of the Austrian ministry, in May 1848. In these it was urged that all means must be employed to favour the antagonists of the Union at the elections for the Diet. The attention of the landed proprietors should be directed to the loss, which they necessarily would undergo, from the abolition of soccage. On the other hand, this very abolition might be promised to the peasant in case the Union were successfully resisted. Then it

should be made obvious to the landholders, that by aid of a few German regiments there would be no difficulty in restoring the ancient order, and the Union would be conducive to nothing but to a transient agitation. To every man of influence with the people, money, or in cases of greater avail, a high office should be promised; this last pledge, however, should be used with circumspection. Finally, it was suggested, that even if the Union were carried in the Diet, yet means might be found to frustrate it: namely, the Saxons might refuse to add their seal to those of the Szeklers and the Hungarians, and would thus render the act of the Diet ineffectual. The documents might be detained on their way to Vienna; the sanction of the law might be put off; time thus would be gained, and to gain time was to gain every thing at this crisis.

No one, however, more eagerly obeyed the instigations of the Camarilla than the Wallachs.

For a long time back, many of them, especially the clergy, had the more bitterly felt their political oppression, as with the numerical superiority of the Wallachs in the country the injustice of their position was obvious. Their most urgent and formerly, no doubt, just desire, was to be represented in the Transylvanian Diet, as the fourth nationality, just as the other three nationalities. But the Union

with Hungary abrogated all the national distinctions; and, at future elections, the nationality could not come forward, since the franchise was given only with regard to a property qualification. Laying great stress upon this, the Wallachs were incited to claim, in preference to any thing else, to be acknowledged as the fourth nation, and thus secure their majority in the Diet; by which at the same time, a new direction would be given to the agitation. In consequence, on the 15th of May, the very day on which Rajacsics got himself elected at Karlovitz to the dignity of Patriarch, the Wallach Bishop, Saguna, also assembled the Wallachs of Transylvania. About 30,000 peasants met at Balásfalva, and resolved to send a deputation to the Emperor, requesting to be acknowledged as the fourth nationality. They the more readily formed this resolution since the Bill of Union was interpreted to them as enforcing their coalition with the United Greek Church, (to which the Ruthenians and a part of the Wallachs belong,) and thus estranging them from the old Eastern church. By such means it proved not difficult to stir them into fanaticism.

Yet these intrigues did not succeed. To the great astonishment of the Camarilla, the union of Transylvania with Hungary was, at the end of May, 1848, solemnly and unanimously declared by the

Transylvanian Diet, at Kolosvár (Klausenburg), with the strictest observance of all formalities, and with general enthusiasm. The Commissary appointed by the Emperor, Lieutenant Field-Marshal Puchner, had opened the Diet with a speech in Hungarian, and in the Emperor's name expressed the wish, that the Union should be voted. He was joyfully listened to by the Assembly, although the inconsistency of another point in the same speech, when he called on them to propose a new chancellor for the Grand Duchy* awakened distrust in several persons.

In the streets of Kolosvár, amongst the highly elated people might be seen the Saxon Delegate of Hermannstadt with a large Hungarian tri-colour, to express, as representative of the chief Saxon town its sincere satisfaction at the result. The royal sanction of this resolution of the Diet followed on the 1st of July, notwithstanding the secret manœuvres of those employed by the Camarilla. In fact, the original document containing the resolution of the Diet, that the Union should be accomplished, when sent direct to Innspruck, was intercepted, and only a duplicate reached the monarch; who, nevertheless, signed it, and issued the command that all officers of Transylvania should swear to the new con-

* See Note at the end of chapter.

stitution, thus binding every one of them to uphold it.

After the sanction of this law, the Camarilla necessarily had to seek other means for severing Transylvania from Hungary. Again the Wallachs were incited. Emissaries told this people that the intention was to bereave it of its nationality; nay, to expel it from its own soil. The tale was spread that the Emperor Ferdinand had been dethroned by the Hungarians, and the circumstance that all orders now were issued in the name of the *King*, not of the *Emperor*, as had previously been the case,* gave occasion to address the following falsehood to the peasant: "See! the kind Emperor, who has liberated thee from *soccage*, is no longer thy lord: thou art now the slave of the King of Hungary."

Isolated acts of violence ensued. At Marczafalva, the peasants mowed down the green corn of the proprietor, because it had been sown in the period of *soccage*. At Topánfalva, the incited peasants claimed the half of the forests; and, as they only got the right of taking for use the produce of certain parts, totally destroyed the young woods in the neighbourhood. In both cases, after previous warnings, military force was employed against the

* See Note at the end of the chapter.

transgressors. In the first case an attack nearly ensued. Intimidated by this example, the peasants yielded in the second instance, although the instigators, under different pretexts, called together the people of more than thirty villages. But this plan of incitement failed, owing to the good sense of the people themselves, who disapproved the conduct of the peasants of Topánfalva.

The emissaries of the Camarilla now tried to persuade the people that the military force had been applied in opposition to the desire of the Emperor; that these soldiers were not in the monarch's service, but were foreign mercenaries. The most insignificant circumstance, however trifling it might be, was dressed up and received by the people as striking evidence. The infantry-officers, for instance, had begun to wear mustachios—a liberty granted them since March, but prohibited before. To prepossess the people against the "Honvéds," who wore military coats of a red-brown colour, it was asserted that a horde of wild barbarians, with red attires and long beards, had broken into Hungary, and were already marching against Transylvania, to drive the Wallachs from their land, and to take it themselves into possession. A man named Ianku had been clerk in a public office; but not agreeing with his superiors, he had left the service, and now lived with his father, a rich Wallach peasant, near Topánfalva.

This man incited the people against the order of his former superiors. Of pleasing exterior and uncommon eloquence, he got great influence amongst the Wallachs.

Another chief of this people was Móga, who had held a subordinate office, and had been expelled from it on account of a fraud; afterwards he became a footman, and next a clerk, first with a notary of Offenbánya, then with the deacon Igyán. To this person the appointment of a director in one of the mountain districts was pledged, in case the plan of the Camarilla succeeded. These were the agents mainly employed by the Austrian statesmen in the mountain districts of Transylvania, inhabited by the Wallachs of the mountains called the Mócz.

Laureanu, professor in Bukarest, and the Bishop Saguna were more refined than the above-mentioned persons, and for this very reason had less influence on the wild people. Of a far inferior stamp, cruel and wretched, was Boloschiesko, directed by Barnutiu, the soul of the Wallach committee. This latter was without any feeling of nationality, entirely the tool of the Austrians.

But all these intrigues were woven secretly. The Camarilla did not yet venture openly to counteract the sanctioned resolutions of the Diet. In all departments the desires expressed by the voice of the public were attended to, and most of them fulfilled.

The enthusiasm for the cause of freedom was thus maintained, and the confidence in the Court strengthened.

Some of the main instigators of the people, Móga, and several others, were now legally apprehended, and convicted of their crimes. But, regardless of the published sentence of the court-martial, the Hungarian commissaries pardoned and released them, after they had pledged themselves not to undertake any thing more against the Hungarian government. Encouraged, however, by the Saxons, they soon resumed their occupation.

At last came the period deemed appropriate for unconcealed action. Its signal was, the attack of Jellachich against Hungary. General Puchner, on the 16th of September, issued a proclamation, in which he desired all the civil officers of Transylvania to renounce the oath, which they had taken to the Hungarian constitution, and support him in his opposition to it. At the same time a Wallachian levy was organized, armed, and provided with Austrian officers, to use force against all those who by the 18th of October should not have declared themselves willing to join in the design. The proclamation to this purpose was sent to the superior authorities of Hermannstadt and Kolosvár, to be communicated to the subordinate magistrates in the county.

The Hungarian ministry, to avoid dissatisfaction

and an increase of half-pay, had every where as much as possible kept to the principle of retaining in their places the officers of the previous government. It therefore is easily explained why the highest officers in Transylvania were either willing tools of the Camarilla, or at least wished always to keep on good terms with the stronger party. But as it was yet undecided which of all the parties would prove stronger, they put off the publication of the manifesto, and solemnly protested against the illegal proceeding of General Puchner. On this occasion the course common in Austria was carefully pursued, to require at least a week to execute a trifling concern. With such forerunners came the 18th of October. No one was aware of the approaching catastrophe, except those who were initiated into the plot.

The sad consequences of this plot manifested themselves everywhere; but nowhere more dreadfully than in the remote mountain district of Zalatnya.

The civil officers of those parts were suddenly surrounded by wildly fanatical Wallachs, arms in hand. In this state of things above 1200 faithful servants of their Sovereign assembled. They were of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, old and young, accompanied by their wives and children. All joined in the purpose to proceed together to the

town of Enyed—at several hours' distance from Zalatnya—to be sheltered there from the wild hordes, which were ready to attack every one who chanced not to be Wallach, and who wore another than a peasant's coat. It was yet at some distance from Zalatnya when the officers were overtaken by a great troop of armed Wallachs. Not willing to oppose those who pretended to be acting in the name of the Monarch, a negociation was entered upon. Its result was, that the emigrants agreed to deliver up their swords and muskets, under condition that they should not be prevented from freely proceeding to Enyed. Before the disarming was completed the evening had come on.

The district-physician of Zalatnya, who, favoured by lucky chances, escaped almost alone unhurt from the subsequent slaughter, was the first to deliver up his sword. Several carriages were laden with the arms, and they waited for dawn to continue their journey. In the night, the Wallachs sent a messenger to the commander, who was an Austrian officer at Zalatnya, to inquire what they should do "with their prisoners." The messenger returned with the laconic reply, "Put the wretches to death."

The morning of the subsequent day found the unfortunate families encircled by the Wallachs. An anxious expectation reigned. When the per-

emptory order of murder arrived, the riotous people themselves were thunder-struck, and for a long while no one attempted to break the pledge of a free passage. Both parties hesitated for some instants to take any decided step, at last the disarmed set themselves in motion. Slowly the procession advanced until some circumstance, which never has been precisely ascertained, was considered by the Wallachs a signal to attack.

Now followed a horrifying scene. One part of the disarmed were cudgelled to death, others pierced through with pointed mountain-sticks. Some hanged on trees were mangled with hay-forks; others, thrown into pits, were buried under blocks rolled down upon them. Women and maidens were mutilated and murdered in the most dreadful manner. I shudder to relate it!

The slaughter lasted long. Rainbold, a German, the Inspector of Zalatnya, to whom clung his wife, and two grown-up daughters, not seeing any possibility to avert their dreadful fate, drew out his double pistol, which, more distrustful than his companions, he had retained, shot down first his two daughters, loaded again, shot his wife, and lastly himself. The haste, and the excitement, in which he achieved this awful deed, rendered his hand uncertain, his mutilated wife survived this horrible catastrophe, and related it. Of 1,200

persons about 110 remained wounded amongst the bodies of their comrades. Of these survivors about 70 or 80, most of them women, one, the wife of the judge, Császár, bleeding from countless wounds, dragged themselves before the gates of the fortress of Gyula Fehérvár (*Karlsburg*). But the commander of this place, which was occupied by Austrian troops, drove the exhausted victims with blows from the gates, where, after having been refused entrance, they had sunk powerless to the ground.

Similar horrors were committed in more than one part of Transylvania. Enyed was burnt, and ravaged. In the county of Zaránd, many proprietors were murdered. The family of Brády was utterly extirpated. Baroness Mikes was barbarously killed, with her infants. The cruelties, perpetrated by the Wallachs, were so unprecedented, that even Puchner was in despair at the massacres he had occasioned; but the agitation could no longer be ruled.*

* These horrors never were punished by the Austrians: and when, some months later, Puchner was driven from Transylvania by General Bem, and Csányi, as Hungarian Commissary, sentenced several of the instigators and perpetrators of the above-mentioned bloodshed, to be hanged, the correspondents of the Austrian party filled the papers of foreign countries with declamations on *Hungarian terrorism*, and Charles Heinzen, the theoretical Marat of the German revolutionists in London, has taken these declamations for fair truth, and honours the Hungarians as terrorists; an honour which they, in justice to truth, must decline. But, on the

The Austrian Lieutenant Colonel Urban, who called himself the Wallachian Jellachich, had, for some time, assembled the Wallachian borderers. He got reinforcements from the Bukovina, and marched against Kolosvár, which still adhered to the Hungarian ministry.

General Baldacci, commanding the Hungarian army in those parts, had no confidence either in his troops, or in the cause for which he fought. After an engagement of outposts, in which the Hungarians were victorious, he most incomprehensibly gave up Kolosvár and Transylvania, in the beginning of November. A Hungarian corps of volunteers, which had victoriously advanced from Szathmar to Dées, was here beaten by Urban, and retired in wild disorder to Nagy Bánya; nay, it even left this place to retreat as far as Szathmár, though no enemy came near it. Transylvania was thus abandoned. The faithful Székelys were, in their own country, wholly cut off from Hungary.

other side, Csányi, and others, who had sentenced those Wallach malefactors to death, were themselves executed by the Austrians.

NOTE TO CHAPTER III.

From early times to the battle of Mohács, Transylvania and Hungary had one and the same law. It was only when severed from the kingdom that the Grand Duchy, under its own freely elected Grand Duke, adopted, in several respects, other principles and statutes than Hungary. Leopold I., who already was King of Hungary, was also accepted Grand Duke by Transylvania; thus both countries once more acknowledged the same sovereign, which they thenceforth continued to do under the Princes of the House of Hapsburg. Transylvania, however, retained its special institutions, which Leopold I. expressly ratified.

The main features of the Transylvanian constitution were the following: Transylvania consisted of three allied nations; of the Hungarians, the Székelys, and the Saxons, of which every one had its own territory and its own constitution. In the territory of the Hungarians the great bulk of the population are Wallachs, but all landed proprietors are Hungarians. Their municipal institutions were much the same as in Hungary. They likewise had counties, quarterly county congregations, and elections every third year.

The Székelys are all of Hungarian origin, and are, without exception, free. In their territory there were no serfs and no feudal lords; but its inhabitants are all small landed proprietors. A part of them called Primores is free from all military service, but the Primipili and Pixidarii are all subject to that duty, and are considered in this respect as belonging to the military frontier.

Likewise among the Székelys (Szekler) the municipal institutions resemble those of the Hungarians.

The territory of the Saxons should, according to the charters, be inhabited by free men only; but the Saxons who settled there in the twelfth century monopolized all the privileges for themselves, and oppressed the Wallachs, who lived in the midst of them. The municipal institutions of the Saxons widely differ from those of the Hungarians. They are wholly German, but excellent of their kind. A national Count heads them. Their towns are self-administered, and at certain periods assemble, represented by their delegates, under the presidency of the Count, to settle their affairs. But on their territory they granted no vote, and no place in their offices, to the Wallachs, except occasionally a clerkship, or some other subordinate position. The Wallachs here were quite as much serfs as in the Hungarian territory of Transylvania, with the sole difference, that with the Saxons they were not subjected to a landlord, but to the Saxon city-councils, whose magistrate encroached on them still more than a landlord,

According to the law those three nations were every third year to assemble in Diet by their delegates. The Diet, however, had but one, not two houses. In it, besides the delegates of the three nations, sat also the Regalists in unlimited number. Regalists, a sort of peers for life, were all those whom the Emperor (who in Transylvania was Grand Duke) summoned by special letters—"Litteræ Regales." Besides legislation, the main task of the Diet was to elect the members belonging to the central government of the free nation,—the governor, who resided at Kolosvár (Klausenburg),—the chancellor, who resided at Vienna,—the administrative officers,—and the judges The Diet had to propose, the Grand Duke to appoint. But as for every office three individuals of each of the three Transylvanian nations were always proposed by the Diet, under the idea that every one of the acknowledged religions of Transylvania—(Roman Catholics,

Protestants of the Augsburg and Helvetic confession, and Unitarian)—should have their representatives also; the freedom of election was in reality very limited. It was hardly possible, that amongst the nine proposed individuals, the candidate of the court should not find his place.

Transylvania, as a united country, had no official seal of her own, but every one of the nations had its own seal, and the documents of the Diet could only be legalized by the seals of all the three nations. The delegates of the Saxons kept more steadily together than those of the Hungarians and Székelys. The latter were almost always divided into conservatives and liberals, whilst the Saxons voted in unison, and often threatened, in despite of a majority in the Diet, not to add their seal to legislative propositions against which they had voted. They, however, never ventured to realize the threat. Just as Croatia, by the policy of Metternich, was incited against Hungary, so the Saxons were always instigated against the Hungarians in Transylvania.

The Wallachs in Transylvania had not the rights of a nation, and the Oriental Greek, and even the United Greek Church, were not lawfully recognized, but only tolerated. Had the Wallachs been raised to a nation, the freedom of election would have proved still more limited, as then necessarily twelve candidates would have been proposed for every office. To abolish those national distinctions and establish a general qualification, was favourable to progress, but by no means an increase of the distinct representation of nationalities.

But the Wallachs protested in Balásfalva against every qualification, as the smallest restriction of this nature would have excluded the great bulk of them from the elections, on account of their poverty.

CHAPTER IV.

ADVANCE OF WINDISCHGRATZ.

KOSSUTH returned to Pest in the middle of November. At this time the position of Hungary was not enviable. Field-Marshal Prince Windischgrätz* encamped around Vienna with 75,000 men, and threatened at once Pressburg and Oedenburg. Everybody was aware, that as soon as the Field-Marshal had satisfied his vengeance by the executions in Vienna, his cannon would

* Windischgrätz was not so blood-thirsty as he often has been represented. He was a man of cold haughtiness, who on principle commanded those executions, which, after the conquest of Vienna, horrified civilized Europe, long unaccustomed to such scenes. His sentences did not aim at individuals, but at the classes to which they belonged. The first necessity according

be pointed against Hungary. On the Moravian frontier, Simonich stood with 12,000 men; on the

to his views was, to have a German representative shot, hereby to express his contempt for the Parliament of Frankfort, and to render the breach between the ideal German unity and the Austrian Empire irreparable. Fröbel, who was chief of all the democratical Austrian clubs in Germany, was likewise in his hands; but by the newspapers the name of Blum had become more familiar to the Prince. He executed Blum, and dismissed the other representatives. Next, a Polish victim was deemed indispensable; Bem had fled: in his stead his aide-de-camp, Jelovizki, was doomed to death. Thirdly, some officers of the National Guards were destined to fall. Baron Sternau was shot; one was thought sufficient. With the same logic, one editor of newspapers was deemed sufficient to terrify this dangerous people; to poor Doctor Becher this fate was allotted. The Jews were defamed as radicals: Doctor Jellinek, the young enthusiastic disciple of Hegel, expired by the balls of the riflemen, that in him all who were of his faith might symbolically be punished. On the same principle, a workmen and an obscure Hungarian were shot, as representatives of their class and their nationality. But the man who had been an Austrian officer, who had borne arms against his previous comrades—Messenhauser—could in no case be pardoned. Though in truth he accepted the chief command of the National Guards, only in compliance with the express summons of the "Common Council," and though the Austrian Diet had ratified his appointment, entrusting him with the defence of Vienna, nevertheless, when an Austrian officer had fought against the Imperial army, Windischgrätz could not leave it unrevenged. As Messenhauser had been sentenced by the common court-martial, not by the drum head court-martial, *three* days were allotted to him, according to the law, between the sentence and his execution. But when

Galician side, Schlick, with 15,000. From Transylvania — Puchner, Wardener and Urban had taken threatening positions. The Banat was endangered by the Serbs. On the borders of Croatia, Generals Nugent and Dahlen assembled an army. In the country itself, three principal fortresses—Arad, Temesvár, and Esseg—were in the hands of the enemy. Hungary was attacked from nine sides at once. To these calamities was added her total isolation from all foreign countries, and the interruption of trade with Austria. There was a lack of arms, of gun-caps, and of medicine. In the whole country no more than four hundred weight of brimstone could be got; no linen and no cloth could be imported,—articles, both of them, now more than ever requisite. But Kossuth and the Committee of Defence did not despair. Whilst Görgey in Pressburg organized his troops and

the Field-Marshal Lieutenant Welden, Commander of Vienna, was apprised that a deputation from the Common Council had gone to the Emperor at Olmütz to claim grace for the condemned, and that several representatives had joined this deputation, he gave order for the execution on the *second* day after the sentence had been pronounced. The Judge-Advocate protested against the illegality of this proceeding. Welden had promised to Windischgrätz to have Messenhauser in any case executed. When the deputies returned from Olmütz with the pardon, the Commander of the National Guards had been already shot.

accustomed them to the fire by daily skirmishes, the Committee in Pest erected manufactures of arms, of gun-caps and of detonating powder; prepared brimstone from pyrites, established saltpetre houses, employed all the tailors and shoe-makers of the land, on uniforms and boots for the army; and by their own resolution encouraged the Diet and the whole country.

It was from Transylvania that the danger was urgently threatening: thither, accordingly, General Bem was sent, on the 1st of December. As the commencement of an army he had four thousand men, dispirited troops, who had fled from that country in the recent disorders. Amongst them, the German legion alone could wholly be depended on, which consisted of Viennese students, who indeed, in the defeat at Deés, had defended and saved the cannons. Besides these brave volunteers, Bem had one battalion of well-tried Székely infantry, three thousand recruits who never had been in the field, and thirty cannons.

Before Bem left Pest, he told the Committee, that with these 8,000 men, he would in a fortnight invade Transylvania;—would first beat Wardener, and take Deés, the key of the country, and after that, Kolosvár. When he had achieved this, he would pursue and chase away Urban, from the Wallach districts next to the Bukovina; and as

soon as he had thus effected a junction with the faithful Székelys, he would drive the Austrians out of the Saxon land at the point of the bayonet. The Members of the Committee were glad to see that Bem was so sanguine about his difficult task; but they could not help taking his words for rhodomontade, which must not be exactly calculated upon. No one believed that the great General would not only keep his word most brilliantly, but achieve much more than he had ever promised.

Perczel kept guard of the Croatian frontier; when threatened by the Austrians, he took them by surprise at Fridau in Styria, and forced them to retire. In spite of this it was obvious, that as soon as Windischgrätz should begin his operations, Perczel would be unable to resist the great numerical superiority of Nugent and Dahlen. In Sclavonia, Count Casimir Batthyányi had by lucky boldness, with National Guards, and a few Honvéds, taken the fortress of Esseg, from which he kept Sclavonia in check.

Kossuth was anxious to aim one great stroke against the Serbs, before he withdrew the army of Lower Hungary from their neighbourhood, as a necessary reinforcement to Pest. He therefore called the brave General Kiss and Colonel Damianics to a Council of War at Pest. It was

resolved, that whilst, by a feigned attack on Földvár, the Serbs were decoyed into the Roman intrenchments, the camp of Tomasovacz should be stormed. Damianics proposed, if his force were strengthened by only two battalions of Honvéds, to clear the whole military frontier from Weisskirchen down to the Theiss. This proposal appeared impracticable. But as the attack on Földvar and Tomasovácz failed, owing to a sudden autumnal mist, which rendered any combined operation difficult, Damianics got the two battalions he had wished for. Reinforced by these, he completely defeated the Serbs at Lagerndorf, took Tomasovácz by storm, and cleared the frontier of the Banat. Only Pancsova and Zemlin remained in the hands of the Serbs. But Colonel Márjássy, on the banks of the Maros, attacked the fortress of Arad in vain.

In the county of Sarós, in the North, the Hungarians proved far less successful. The Austrian General Schlick invaded the country by the defiles of Dukla. Against him the Hungarian Colonel Alexander Pulszky, on the 8th of December, took post on the height of Kassa, (Kaschauer-Berg), with hastily assembled National Guards, and was beaten. Three hundred Poles, however, who under Colonel Tohorsnizki had supported the Hungarians, covered the retreat. By them

the chief of the staff of Schlick's army was taken prisoner. The Austrians themselves acknowledged, in their bulletin, "that this victory had been dearly bought." General Mészáros, the Hungarian Minister of War, now took the command of the troops against Schlick. Szemere, Minister of the Interior, hastened to Miskolcz, the chief town of the county of Borsod to raise the enthusiasm of the people, and to organize the general levy. But Mészáros too was defeated, first at Szikszo, afterwards at Bárcza; notwithstanding his numerical superiority. Schlick advanced to the Theiss unopposed, and threatened Debreczen, until he was beaten by Klapka in January.

Whilst thus the armies were occupied in all directions, Kossuth made one more attempt to avoid the calamitous war, well aware that it could only end with the fall either of Hungary or of the dynasty. He, therefore, wrote to Mr. Stiles, Envoy of the United States in Vienna, entreating him, in the interest of humanity, to obtain from Prince Windischgrätz an armistice with the Hungarians. The envoy answered: "that he would readily have complied with the request, but that Prince Windischgrätz declined to treat, and demanded unconditional surrender." At the same time the tidings came, that on the 2nd of

December, the Emperor Ferdinand had abdicated in Olmütz; that his brother, Francis Charles, had renounced his claim to the throne, and that the son of the latter, a youth nineteen years old, was now Emperor.

A part of the Hungarian representatives saw in these last events a spark of hope. Many believed that the young Emperor would celebrate his accession by an amnesty; that, according to the laws, he would assemble a Diet, in order to be crowned King, and would recognise the legal rights of Hungary. But this illusion was soon dispelled. Instead of the amnesty violent proclamations arrived, not acknowledging any Hungarian constitution at all. Kossuth and the committee were declared outlaws, the laws of 1848, were retracted; but assurance was given to the peasants that, although the laws were annulled, the abolition of soccage would be ratified. The Diet answered to these proclamations by protesting against an abdication not previously communicated to the Diet, and by the declaration that Francis Joseph could not be recognized King of Hungary until he had declared his intention to take the oath to the constitution, and to be crowned according to the laws. Afterwards it became publicly known that the abdication of the Emperor Ferdinand had been deemed neces-

sary, because he had reiterated with genuine simplicity, and with the tenacity of a child, whenever a centralization of the monarchy and the overthrow of the Hungarian constitution was mentioned: "My oath, my oath, I cannot break my oath!" After his abdication he had fallen ill; the young Emperor also was so disturbed at finding himself suddenly called to the throne, that, as the Vienna papers then related, for several days he could neither eat nor sleep. But the persons had only changed, not the system. The new ministry at Olmütz—Prince Schwarzenberg, Count Stadion, Dr. Bach, and Baron Kraus—set up a dangerous principle: that pledges, coronation oaths, conventions and compacts between the people and its sovereign, bind only the person of that monarch who has given and signed them, but that he cannot bind his successors. The motto of the school of Metternich: *Après moi le déluge*, still remained the leading principle of the government. It did not care for the future, satisfied if it could get rid of the momentary embarrassments.

As this conviction became every day more obvious in Hungary, every one likewise prepared for the struggle of despair. The hatred in Hungary against the Austrian government increased with every hostile demonstration from

that quarter. About this time, while the archives of the Palatine Archduke Stephen were being revised by a commission of the Diet, the following remarkable letter was found, dating from the epoch, at which the responsible ministry was granted to the Hungarians.

"Your Majesty!

"The state of Hungary is at this moment so critical, that the most violent outbreak is to be expected daily. Anarchy reigns in Pest.* The authorities are displaced from their sphere of action by a Committee of Public Safety; and whilst the Council of the Lieutenancy, under the strong guidance of Count Zichy, maintains, at least outwardly, its consideration, the Hofkammer, (Exchequer), is almost a nullity. The nobles also have risen in masses to secure rights *de facto*.

"In this anomalous and critical state of things, every one expects preservation by the immediate formation of a responsible ministry.

"Even if we consider this plan as a calamity, yet the question must be put in this shape: 'Which is the least calamity?'

* This description of the state of Pest is greatly exaggerated, and it is obvious that the Archduke represented it in these colours in Vienna, to impress more forcibly the necessity of a new arrangement, which he wished to carry through.

"I shall at present attempt, in a few words, to bring forward the three measures, by which alone I hope to be able to attain any result in Hungary. The first measure would be, to withdraw the whole armed force from the country, and to leave it a prey to total devastation; to look on passively upon the disorders and fire-raisings, and also upon the struggles between nobles and peasants, &c.

"The second measure would be to enter into negotiations with Count Batthyányi, concerning the motions to be brought forward for laws, and to save everything that can be saved. He is at present the hero of the day, and if we delay longer, his star likewise might wane. But we must know before-hand, what is to be done, in case he should not be satisfied and resign.

"Lastly, the third measure would be, to recal the Palatine and send a Royal Commissary to Pressburg, invested with extraordinary power, and accompanied by a considerable military force; who after dissolving the Diet there, should proceed to Pest and carry on the Government there with an iron hand, as long as circumstances should permit.

"From the first measure, I openly confess, I myself shrink. It is immoral, and it is perhaps not becoming in a Government utterly to desert subjects, of whom a part at least is well-disposed,

and to allow them to fall a sacrifice to all the cruelties of an insurrection. Besides, this would have a most prejudicial effect in the other provinces, from the example given by it to the ungovernable, uncultivated masses.

"The second measure on the contrary is a good one; and although it has, at the first moment, the appearance of a separation, it is nevertheless—for the present period, the only measure to preserve this province; supposing always, that the gentlemen now to be appointed are able to exercise full influence upon the interior defence, which certainly cannot be asserted with full confidence before-hand. With the arrival of a more favourable time, much can be organized otherwise, which at present might seem to occasion a separation.

"I do not know, whether something might be gained by negotiations with Batthyányi and Deák;* but I know that the negotiation can be carried only through them,—for if things come to debate at Pressburg, everything is to be apprehended. Relative to this however, as a faithful official of the State, I take the liberty of calling your Majesty's attention to a highly-important circumstance. What will happen, if Count

* Batthyányi and Deák were at this period at Vienna, Kossuth at Pressburg.

Batthyányi, in case of the negotiations not coming to a successful termination, should be ready to risk everything and resign his office. Here I consider it to be my duty, without exaggeration, but only in conformity with truth, to observe, that we ought to be prepared, in such an event, with an armed force along the Danube, and on the road leading from Pressburg to Pest, to oppose a demonstration likely to be called forth by the young men of Pressburg, and by a part of the nobles. In this case the third measure only would remain. Supposing that the means are not wanting for its execution, this third measure would have to be carried into execution with great haste.

"But here arise some questions.

(a). "Is there not a want of sufficient money? consequently, is it not impossible to send to Hungary a large military force,—by which I understand, at least forty or fifty thousand men?

"(b). Is this force at hand, and ready to be employed quickly?"

Is there further:

"(c). A Commissary to be found, who is willing and qualified to undertake this employment?—but lastly

"(d.) Is there no doubt as to whether this

measure would be sufficient to obtain the wished for end? Will there not then be a necessity for a greater force in Galicia or Italy?

"If a favourable answer can be given to these questions, which, in my position, I am unable to answer myself,—such an answer that the execution is possible without delusion, and without calculations, which may afterwards prove inaccurate, I have no further remarks to oppose to the former observations; supposing, that a compromise is attempted with Count Batthyányi, and that, moreover, the opinion is taken of the great officers of the realm, who in any case are to be summoned to Vienna.

"I confess openly, that in the present state of affairs, I should pronounce myself in favour of the second measure; and I doubt not, that also the great dignitaries (although I have not yet consulted them) would be of the same opinion. I have only certainty as to the views of the Judex Curiæ (Chief Justice) Mailáth.

"If, however, your Majesty, according to your wise insight, should consider the first or third measure more suitable, your Majesty will doubtless issue your commands in conformity with the existing laws, and the usage hitherto observed, and give me a notice whether I am at present to

remain at Vienna, or whether I may set off in any other direction.

STEPHEN."

March 24th, 1848.

The authenticity of this letter could not be doubted; it was confirmed by the Director of the Archducal archive himself. Thus no doubt could be entertained, that all the events since March, the rebellion of the Serbs in Lower Hungary, of the Wallachs in Transylvania, the invasion of Jellachich, the mission of Lamberg, and in case of necessity, the expedition of Windischgrätz, had as early as March, been contemplated by the Viennese cabinet. Many single facts now appeared the links of a chain forged long since, by which Hungary was to be fettered. The Court had alternately tried all the three expedients, indicated in the letter of the Archduke. First, the negotiation with Count Batthyányi, and the retracting of several concessions in August, which in March had been considered dangerous by the Camarilla, but had been granted in the flood tide of events. Then the different classes, nationalities and religious parties were incited, one against the other. This failed with the Sclavonians, Ruthenians, Germans and Wallachs in Hungary; yet it succeeded completely with the Serbs and the Croats, with the

Saxons and the Wallachs in Transylvania. A great part of the country had thus been devastated, by fire and sword, to further the political aims of the Camarilla. And now, as all this had not wholly achieved its aim, Windischgrätz was coming, with the army and the "fist of iron," whilst the Palatine had left the country.

And in spite of this I would not pronounce as hard a judgment on the Archduke Stephen as at the time every one did in Hungary. He loved Hungary as the country of his birth, but he likewise knew the Court; and was aware, that if he openly advocated the cause of his fatherland, he would lose all his influence in Vienna. The means, which he indicates in his letter, had obviously not been originally proposed by him. He had heard them in the Viennese cabinet, and he mentions them to refute them in some way, and to advise a negotiation with Batthyányi. In so doing, he certainly likewise speaks of retracting the concessions at a convenient time. But he also was aware, that retrograde movements in politics are often more difficult than progressive measures. If he had expressed himself energetically as to the immorality of the first and third measures, he probably would not have gained anything. If he wanted to deal with the Camarilla, he necessarily adopted the language of those who had invented the schemes in

question. In a later period, however, he really supported Batthyányi's ministry, of the loyalty of which he was convinced. He attempted to uphold the laws and the constitution, well knowing that the sacredness of a royal pledge could not be violated without being punished sooner or later. When he saw, however, that the questions could be decided only by open conflict between his country and his family, then, to escape the feud with the latter, he forsook his fatherland. When, by the intrigues of the Camarilla, he had been entangled in a false position, he could not come to any decision. That for which he may be reproached is, that when placed by the course of events in an historical position, he had not the courage to become a great man. By the wavering of his character, when the interests of his fatherland were artificially and violently severed from those of his family, he lost at the same time his popularity in Hungary and also all confidence at Court. While he meant well for the land of his birth, and was loyal as a subject, it was his fate to be in both respects condemned without the least indulgence. History, which at some time will judge the events of 1848 impartially, will no doubt, be less hard upon him, and will deal out more justice than his present award; according to which, he, the most distinguished Prince of his house, in the most

vigorous period of his life, is condemned to inaction, and to banishment from his fatherland.

Various rumours were repeated in Pest on the morning of the 16th of December. That Windischgrätz had actually invaded Hungary, was reported in the most different shapes. By many it was treated only as a groundless tale; they would not believe in a winter campaign, dreadful to both parties; they would not believe that the young and newly-made Emperor was prepared to seize by arms a crown which he was able to obtain by constitutional means. Others were quite convinced of the correctness of the news; they had no doubt that Windischgrätz was hastening to subjugate Hungary, as he was said to have vowed that he would, as soon as he should have crushed Vienna. Some trusted in a vague report, that Jellachich was commander-in-chief. Aware of the unpopularity of his name, and his want of military skill, they thought such tidings worth an army for Hungary. On the whole, everybody, excited with expectation, was sensitive to every tale. News spread, everywhere and anywhere, with the irritable swiftness of uncertainty.

In the afternoon, my husband was summoned to a conference with Kossuth, who directed him to hasten to Görgey, that the real state of the case might be ascertained; for inconsistent official

accounts had arrived from him. Arrangements were speedily made. The cold was so intense, that my husband was obliged to hire a *bunda,** in order not to be utterly frozen in his light open carriage, flying over hill and dale with the peasant's post.†

In the night of the 18th to the 19th, my husband returned. Görgey had retired from Pressburg. At Tyrnau and Parendorf severe engagements had taken place, in which the Hungarians had been repelled. Görgey had quitted the left for the right bank of the Danube, and was now waiting at Altenburg. There an outpost skirmish took place during my husband's stay. Hungarian bravery proved most brilliantly successful; nevertheless, Görgey said, that even the position of Raab must be given up. It had ceased to be strong since the rivers and bogs, its natural and best barricades, had been hardened by the continued frost, and could be easily crossed by the enemy.

My husband looked serious. "If Raab must be given up, Pest cannot be held"—was his opinion.

* Bunda is the fur of a sheep's skin, the inseparable ornament and comfort of the Hungarian peasant. It is his cloak, and in case of need, his bed.

† The peasant's post is the general mode of conveyance in some parts of Hungary. In comparison with the Austrian post, that of the peasant may well be called flying. Those poor-looking little horses perform a distance of thirty-two English miles, without stopping, in five hours, at the rate of sixpence a mile.

The public trust was in Perczel's effecting a junction with Görgey. Perczel was, indeed, advancing from the Croatian frontier, where he had kept a position on the Muraköz; but would he arrive in time? Would he be able to join Görgey? And if this could fortunately be effected, could even their joint force resist the Austrian army, numerically so much superior? These and a thousand similar questions were incessantly discussed in Pest.

The sittings of the Diet went on. The question of the indemnity to the landed proprietor for his pecuniary loss by the abolition of his manorial rights continued to be discussed.

In the Casino (the most fashionable club), representative, and persons holding public offices daily met, in search of witnesses to their wills. This, however, did not prevent many of these gentlemen from gambling with characteristic thoughtlessness.

Kossuth was hardly ever seen out of his house; conferences were held there perpetually: he worked day and night.

Our uncle and aunt arrived from my husband's estates in the northern part of the country. Everybody had fled from that district, where the Austrian force found but little organised resistance. Sequestration of the estates of all who had joined the national cause, signalized the first entrance of the Austrians. So little was anybody prepared for such proceed-

ings, that many of those who fled, had not even removed the ready money left on their estates.

Christmas came:—oh, how dim was the festive joy! Windischgrätz had announced that he would light up the Christmas-trees at Pest. Every one knew this to be impossible; but the very thought deadened the merry sound of the Christmas-bell.

Görgey summoned his wife, then at Pest, to Raab. Many thought this a good omen, a proof of his intention to take up his winter-quarters there; others found in it ground for believing him determined to defend the honour of the country to the last man, as they thought he had summoned his wife, in order to take perhaps a parting farewell of her.

Tidings came: Perczel was advancing, depression was no longer predominant, everybody speculated on possibilities, and hoped.

The 30th, we had news of Bem's having taken Kolosvár (*Klausenburg*)

In the night of the 30th and 31st, my husband was called up. He was to go directly to Kossuth.

My husband did not return till five in the morning. Perczel had been defeated at Moor, before he had effected a junction with Görgey. Pest would probably have to be given up.

Two hours later, my husband departed to pass the frontier of Austria, that very country in which he knew that a price was set upon his head.

He had correctly foretold that the tidings of Perczel's defeat would occasion such terror all over Pest, that hardly any conveyance could be procured for departure.

All was excitement and alarm everywhere; here, at the chance of a battle in the immediate neighbourhood of Pest, there lest the town be given up as plunder for the wild Croats. Silver and gold, money, jewels, or treasures were hastily concealed, as well as might be, not only by those of the national party, but likewise by the "Black and Yellow." We had a specimen of this in the proprietor of the house, where we lived. The ungovernable hordes of Jellachich were equally shunned by all.

I mechanically packed up, provided passports for our servants, and sent them off to join the children, who had already gone forward with our aunt to our estates. My intention was to follow the next day, after I could have provided for all little necessities,—necessities so long, as no more undeniable necessity appears!

In the evening, the most confused rumours prevailed. "A deputation was said to have been sent to Windischgrätz, offering submission on moderate terms; the Diet was to proceed to Debreczen; Perczel and Görgey had quarrelled; the army was divided." Thus private anticipations mingled

their own conjectures with the public occurrences.

At eleven, I lay down exhausted, not exactly indifferent, but passively prepared for all and everything, I fell into a heavy slumber. Loud knocking at my door suddenly made me start; it was a friend who reported with alarm, "that the enemy was said to have already entered the precincts of Bude; that there was the greatest apprehension that it would very soon be impossible to leave the city freely." Then I shall leave instantly; I must join the children. This naturally was my first impression. "But you cannot depart with a passport bearing your name," objected my friend: "if you fall in with enemies, they would not let you depart, your husband's name being too well known." But what is to be done? depart *I must*.

A lady, next door to us, aroused by the noise, heard of my difficulties. I had never met her before; she instantly came to me, and offered to interchange our passports, as she was to follow her husband to Debreczen, and, on this route, had nothing to fear from the enemy. I gratefully accepted her kind offer; we met as strangers, we parted as friends.

I drove away at dawn, accompanied by a very disagreeable gentleman, whom I knew but slightly,

but who had pressed his company on me; and, in fact, it was at least *somebody*, and in such circumstances, even a shadow of somebody can be, for moments, a kind of support.

The streets were still deserted; there was hardly any sign of the anxious movements of expectation and apprehension; we scarcely met any trace of unusual excitation.

The railway from Pest to Vacz (Waizen) had already, for a couple of days since, been wholly devoted to military transports. Therefore I was obliged to rattle along the great road, which, since the opening of the railway, had only been used by heavy waggons, and clearly evinced, by frequent shocks, in spite of the smoothing frost, that it had long been unused to genteeler vehicles.

In Waizen, I found little change from what I had seen there some weeks before. Recruits were moving to and fro, and assembled on the main place of the town. The gossipers knew but of rumours, and doubted every fact.

We had to change horses, and I rested a little in a room of the inn. The door opened hastily, and a gentleman, looking pale and worn-out, exhibited himself.

"Don't follow your road a step farther, Madam, (thus I was accosted,) "the out-posts of the enemy,

advancing from Ipolyság, are but about three miles hence!"

I looked quite perplexed at my ghost-like visitor, whose troubled expression contrasted so strongly with his military coat.

"I know—I know," he continued, with the volubility of fear, "our leaders have already escaped from Pest. I have a despatch to deliver to a member of the Committee of Defence, but I know I shall find him no more."

Here I interrupted, assuring him of his manifest error, as he would have no difficulty in finding at Pest, or in following to Debreczen, the person for whom he pretended to be anxious.

"But whither went your husband, Madam?" asked the persevering gentleman.

"Sir, he went on a mission."

Count A., (whom I recognized having met before,) seeing that his assertions did not act powerfully on me, tried to persuade me at least not to follow the direct road, but to go by the mountains; and he offered to go before my carriage, in order to warn me in time of the approach of danger. I protested strongly against my detaining him, urging my utter want of belief, and my determination not to tarry by any circuit. But he would be detained; and, followed by three other companions, he jumped into his light carriage, which was equally fit for a

courier, or for a fugitive. He was soon out of sight. I followed; we drove through a very hilly country. I gave but little credit to the assurances of my Major of the National Guards. However, I peeped out at every turn, expecting to see perhaps some traces of soldiers of one or the other kind. At length I detected several peasants with guns on their shoulders, peaceably pacing to and fro in the most phlegmatic manner, characteristic of the Hungarians as long as they are not aroused. These were Hungarian out-posts. Except this living telegraphic notice of the safety all around, we hardly met with a breathing soul; and thus, without delay, we reached our first stage, the very small village of Rétság. There many peasants were assembled in holiday apparel, and holiday idleness. This was the first impression that reminded me of its being New-year's Day. Many crowded around the carriage. The Notary of the village—likewise a peasant—in their rear, asked for my passport. Being known in this part of the country, I did not choose to dissemble, and therefore named myself, saying I had no passport, with which my solemn inquirer seemed perfectly satisfied.

Here we dined, and again met Count A.; from whom I could not help inquiring where he had left the enemy? He vowed and declared any and every thing which could have been, and which, perhaps

he thought, had been; and uttered omens of other subjects and probabilities.

We proceeded. My companion's imagination could not, or would not get rid of Count A's false prophecies; and assured that they must have had some hidden aim, like all timorous persons, long brooding over possibilities, he moulded the most absurd improbabilities into positive certainties; and so logically deduced and supported them by evidence, which he said his own eyes could give, that though I began with laughing at him, I ended, I must confess, by being seized with all sorts of nervous doubts. He at last protested that Count A. was a spy; he assured me he could not be mistaken; he knew spies too well: so much so, thought I, that I begin to feel most uncomfortable in my rueful knight's vicinity. He at last tried to prove that my senses must have deceived me; that this could not have been a count, but a disguised spy, accompanied by tremendous robbers, sent out to pursue my husband, and deliver him to the enemy. Thus Mr. — worked first himself and, at last, me too, especially as the dusk of the evening gathered around, to such a pitch of terror, that on the morning after my arrival at home, of all my cares I had none greater than to send a trustworthy person in the direction which Count A. had taken, to inquire after him. The result was, that the Count proved

in reality to be himself, not a first rate hero of any kind, but a most harmless person, pursuing his road, not in the shortest, but in the safest possible way. In this way very often stories are built up, and, chancing not to be contradicted, figure as facts. In troubled times conjectures are easily transformed into realities.

It was dark when I reached home;—*home*, the endearing and only place, where, day and night, at every hour, we are sure to be welcome. My little darlings greeted me—my dear old aunt welcomed me—all around was peace, as if war and misery did not exist! But the absence of the *centre* of our warmest affections—this to all but the sweet unconscious infants, brought a most painful conviction of the real state of things.

The ensuing day I had many visitors, faithful to the customs of Hungary, where no time whatever can shut out hospitality. One of these was a gentleman, (himself a Hungarian) who declaimed against all that had been done by government, and predicted the irretrievable destruction of the national army. This very gentleman, after the heroic feats of his countrymen had driven out the enemy, was one of the first and loudest to commend the government and the glorious Magyar army, calling on the people to defy, not only the Austrians, but likewise the Russians, and whoever dared to invade their

country. I am sorry to say, that the same gentleman, though superior to many in understanding, is a specimen of a whole class of persons, who are, in fact, nothing but the personified echoes of momentary impressions;—the courtiers of success. But I do not think this class of people belongs exclusively to the Hungarians.

I was not pleased with the spirit of our county. It is too near Pest not to imbibe its influence. Pest feared, Nógrád gave way. Friends called on me, wondering that I still was there. They warned me not to tarry too long in Szécsény; they would offer me their hospitality, but they feared for me and mine, of course. Not feeling comfortable under these circumstances for those next to my heart, on the 5th of January I committed my children and my aunt to our excellent clergyman, to convey them to one of our cousins, residing in the neighbouring county. As to myself, I wanted to await the return of the manager of our estates, who was absent at the time; to whose care my husband had entrusted me and the children previous to his departure.

At midnight, the very night after my little family had set off, a messenger arrives from Balassa-Gyarmath, and brings a letter. I break the seal and read: "The enemy is reported to be in Rétság; hasten to depart."

I was ill at the time; so weakened, that I am sure, in days of peace, I should have felt unable to move; in days of danger however, strength grows with exertion. In two days I was ready, stimulated by the dread of being cut off from my children.

A dear friend, our physician, came; then his wife, and many of those employed on the estate; then the servants and all thronged around me, and wept, and feared, and hoped; and felt that with *me* the last tie of our family was departing. I hardly saw, or heard, or felt. I had undergone much; I had more to undergo. I trusted to Him, who never forsakes us as long as we do not forsake ourselves.

CHAPTER V.

FLIGHT TO THE MOUNTAINS.

I HAD the good fortune to overtake the children early in the morning in Losoncz, where they had slept. Poor darlings! they had slept as soundly as in their own beds, and rejoiced at driving again, and at the silvery flakes of snow, and the sparkling diamonds of the earth's icy garb. Our caravan moved on and reached Rimaszombath, a large market-place in the county of Gömör. There we could hardly get accommodation for our horses, a great fair being held just then. We found in the inn and its yard noisy crowds of smoking men, bustling women, eating children, tired horses, patient cattle, and fettered calves and lambs, woefully bleating and bellowing. The

day was far advanced before we could get on. We then could hardly distinguish the objects by which we passed, the windows being blinded by hard frost. Our journey appeared endless to my wearied mind. Late at night we arrived at our cousin's, never too late for the kind religious hospitality of an Hungarian hearth and board. We met a numerous company, and found in almost every member a relation; this is a very natural occurrence in Hungary, where every relationship, if it be even in the hundredth degree, is considered a holy indissoluble tie. Very often persons of the most different stations in society are connected in this way, and never would conceive it possible to disown it, under any circumstance whatever. It would likewise be considered a sin never to be forgiven, to treat one's relations without proper regard. Owing to this the familiar "Thou" is nowhere more used than in Hungary; persons about the same age always address each other with this endearing familiarity, and gentlemen generally call to each other by the words "Uram Bátyám" or "Uram Ocsém," that is: "My dear Mr., my brother." Children call every man "Bácsi" (uncle), and every woman "Néni," (aunt). The peasant speaking to his lord mixes not unfrequently the appellation of "Lelkem," (my soul), with the more ceremonious titles, which he uses with the

most perfect knowledge of the gradations of rank; and the lord often calls the peasant "Lelkem." Thus no lack of courteousness is risked to a possible relative.

These patriarchal relations may be the brightest remnants of feudal institutions, and these, I am sure, as everything really good, cannot subside, and leave no mark behind them, but will survive the abolition of feudalism. The veneration of family ties is inseparably connected with patriotism. This is the primitive source which fertilizes the beloved soil, and which purely reflects all the endearing objects by which it is surrounded.

Amongst our friends, I greeted a cousin newly married. This gentleman, weak in health, never took the slightest part in political movements. Notwithstanding this, his house, on his estate in the upper part of the country, which the Austrians had occupied, had been destroyed in the Vandalism of wantonness. His young wife, who was a German lady, happening to be acquainted with some of the inferior Austrian officers, complained of this destructive injustice. The answer was: "We believed that your husband's house belonged to his uncle, who is manifestly attached to the rebel party. It is a mistake; we regret, but cannot help it." It was *a fait accompli.*

In our small circle we had representatives of

all shades of opinions in the national party. One feared and thought resistance impossible; another said: "Pest is not Hungary!" the third "The right, and St. Stephen's crown are ours; who can take them from us?" But all were Hungarians, and this is synonymous with a firm belief, an almost superstitious conviction, that Hungary in reality cannot be lost; that its genius, the "Magyarok' Istene," (the God of the Hungarians), never forsakes it; that, at the very moment, when everything appears lost to human power, he interposes in behalf of his favourites. This uncalculating and unquestioning belief in the genius of Hungary, has ever given inspiration to its nationality, even amid political destruction.

In the whole course of my experience I remember but one Hungarian, who thought the numerous and old disciplined forces of the Austrians all-powerful; but it may be remarked, that this gentleman is a hero, who hides under his counterpane, at the very approach of a thunder-storm.

All tidings of the armies' movements were expected with nervous impatience. Rumours growing like an avalanche, brought the most exaggerated reports of the cruelties perpetrated in the capital. Plunder was, according to them, the order of the day, and excess the Croat's pastime. This proved in great part untrue; but the fact was, that arbitrary

measures ruled, and where these reign as irresponsible tyrants, their servile attendants, cruelty and excess are naturally supposed to follow.

Görgey was said to have retired without battle, and to be retreating to the natural fastnesses of the mountains. Thus the enemy were daily expected to spread over the country.

A silent terror seized upon the proprietors, especially the elder ones, who better acquainted with the difficulties of acquiring a fortune, apprehended the probable devastation or spoliation of their property.

My poor younger boy fell ill. I sent many miles for a physician, but happily, before he arrived, nature had proved the best physician.

Company was constantly coming and going; officers from Görgey's camp availed themselves of a night's leisure to ride over and see their relations. These officers were not at all sentimentally disposed; they indulged in no dreams of glorious death; but looked to their profession as a matter of fact, a natural duty to be fulfilled, without speculation of any kind.

We had likewise a visit from the poet, Tompa; his lyrical productions and national legends live amongst the people. He is a Protestant clergyman by profession, and a poet by birth.

However, in spite of all social intercourse, and of the soothing influence of habit, I longed for retirement and for the shelter of unnoticed solitude.

Our excellent friend, the manager of our estates, arrived, and thus protected I proceeded with my little family to another relative's estate in the vicinity, where we were left quietly to ourselves. It was in the latter part of January. The country around, in spite of being deprived of every blooming ornament, was magnificent:—peaceful dales, bordered by heights, gentle in their outlines but grand in their wide extension. Above the valley, and under the mountains, several great roads met, ever peopled with waggons of all descriptions. From the conservatory, our little watch-tower, we noted everything going on the roads, and we speculated whether the provisions, which the waggons seemed to carry, would prove sufficient for our army, contending with the severe difficulties of a winter-campaign in the midst of rough mountains. How grateful we felt for shelter and food, whilst thousands were deprived of one or other of these, or at least enjoying them under severe restraints! However, we ourselves were provided only for the present; as soon as the enemy approached, we must leave. Of this we were per-

fectly aware; but who could care much for the future, whilst the present was threatening with danger? There is nothing like danger as an antidote against danger.

In the meantime the shallowness of my purse reminded me to provide for an uncertain future; and aware that the enemy had—in spite of all alarm—not yet entered the estate where we used to reside, I sent there to see what could be done. This was just in time, a few weeks afterwards Szécsény was sequestrated.

I heard that friends of mine, residing in Austria, had sent to inquire what had become of me. But those interested in my behalf in Hungary, who knew what direction I had taken, did not tell even this messenger, whither I had gone. As far as the enemy's atmosphere reached, nobody trusted anybody; spies and hidden purposes were apprehended everywhere. Distrust is the offspring of such circumstances, and becomes the ever-haunting ghost between two nations, who feel and speak differently. The Hungarian and the Austrian do not understand each other, in spite of their having one feature, in which they may recognize a semblance of relationship. This is sound, natural common sense, which is a great characteristic of both; but there is one striking difference,—the Austrian has in his common sense a turn for

ridicule,—the Hungarian, on the contrary, for poetry. This may perhaps be most clearly shown by practical example.

I was present at an Hungarian country-wedding, on which occasion the bride's-man (in this case a peasant) is wont to accompany the ceremony of delivering the bride to her bridegroom with a speech. Now the speech of this man was to the following purport: "Young man, honour your bride. It is God's will that she should be your companion and friend, not your servant: this our Father in Heaven evinced, by making the woman out of the man's rib. If God had meant the woman to be the man's servant, He would have made her out of the man's heel, to indicate that she should be his foot-stool; but the All-wise made her out of the part next to the man's heart where she should reside."

I have more than once been present at Austrian country-weddings; and have never heard anything of this kind. I have seen the Austrian peasant slily wink at the bridegroom, warning him of the yoke under which he was about to bend. I have found good-humoured jocularity, but never a shade of the grave solemnity, which is so deeply rooted in the Hungarian nature, and which unites all classes in one common feeling. There is so little of this in the Austrian mind, that the Hungarian

is usually in Austria, and especially in Vienna, the butt of general wit.

This I think, may be one of the causes of the Hungarian ever viewing the Austrian, whom he generally denominates by the vague appellation of "Sváb,"* with distrust. He feels that his best nature must remain a soil unknown to one, who wounding for the amusement of a jest, explores nothing beyond the surface in attempted ridicule.

The Hungarian is proud. He may easily be won by an appeal to his generosity, but he never will submit to the contempt of ridicule. He feels it bitterly, and though his feelings may be long repressed, they never die away: sooner or later they find expression in actions which resound in history.

Day after day passed without one warming sunshine of certainty. I sometimes visited a neighbouring castle, where four brothers lived in the patriarchal unity of undivided affection and undivided property. Only one of these brothers

* Most of the German immigrants, who settled in Hungary under the Emperor Joseph, were "Svábes." Many of them were wretched creatures, physically degenerate by misery, and therefore looked down upon by the Hungarian peasants, who, in consequence, not seldom uses "Sváb" as a nick-name, which he extends to all Germans.

took an active part in the struggle of their country. He appeared to be the pride of the family, considered as the impersonation of its genius, beloved as one endeared by the danger of public agitation.

In the estate of this respectable family, I met a peasant who had once served in our family. He had heard of the situation of me and mine, and offered me his hut as an unnoticed and therefore safe shelter. He offered his everything, regardless of the personal risk he might undergo, in parting with his home to an outlaw's wife. I never can forget this man's genuine generosity.

The wide-spreading terror of danger was pressing us nearer and nearer. I foresaw the moment when every retreat might possibly be cut off, and longed therefore for a passport, which would insure the freedom of my movements. But how to get one? This was the great question. I applied to some relations for their assistance—by their acquaintance with some of the ruling men in the parts already occupied by the enemy, to procure an Austrian passport for me under a feigned name. But none would be exposed to the responsibility of such an undertaking, in case of detection. What relations dared not, faithful servants undertook!

Two of them, who had never left me, and had followed me through all the hardships and pri-

vations of a fugitive,—undertook to procure a passport for me and for my little ones, to enable me, if possible, to join my husband. For this purpose they set out. It was a dark evening, during their absence, when the "gazda" (bailiff) of the estate, rushed in, with the report of the enemy advancing, and probably reaching us this very night. All the inhabitants of our abode, from my dear old aunt to every servant, were so panic-stricken, all except my faithful companion and myself, that they decided to set off that very night, fleeing wherever they could,—but fleeing in every case. I tried to dissuade them, arguing that, to encounter the chance of improbable calamities, was preferable to undergoing certain danger by travelling in doubtful roads on a dark night. Facts arguing in my favour, I gained my point, and was thus enabled to prepare with more leisure for a removal. But whither? Not knowing how to solve this question satisfactorily, I advised my dearly-beloved aunt, with most painful feelings and intense regret, for the present, to separate her fate from mine, and retire to a relation living in town. I did not choose to seek this refuge, fearing, that then I should easily be cut off from receiving tidings of my husband, which could not be conveyed to a place invested by the Austrians. For myself and my little ones, I determined, by

the support of our friend, to try to reach a spot which had been indicated to me as safe, and where I was to find some one who could direct us farther. We set off at dawn. My aunt on the great road, I with my little ones, on a by-road. We had no time for packing; all things were thrown, in loose bundles, into the carriage. Thus we rattled on and on; it was long past noon when we arrived at our halting-place. We had not long to wait for the kind gentleman, who was to direct us further; I had never seen him before, but he had heard that a Patriot's wife was in difficulties!—this decided him to undertake a journey in my behalf. But when he saw how very young my children were, and how weak I seemed myself, he deemed it impracticable to reach the refuge he had secured for me; for it was distant from any other human habitation, and to be reached only by a steep path through the woods. But where to go? Our kind-hearted guide was puzzled,—at last he determined to take us to friends of his own, and intrude us all in a most Hungarian manner on their hospitality. It grew dark before we had decided, and the evening was advanced before we were moving on again with the sweet sleeping infants. Our guide had mounted the coach-box, to save us from losing our way, which the snow alone enlightened.

When we reached our destination, the family to which we were introduced by our companion, was preparing for rest, but they received us like long-expected and welcome guests. In half an hour we felt at home. Accommodated in the best room of the cheerful house with my darlings I soon fell into a refreshing sleep, dreaming that our Father in Heaven sent down ministering angels to support and comfort His forlorn children.

When I awoke the next morning, the broad sun shed its rising brilliancy over the rocky hills, the crystallized pine trees, and the dark iron-mills, of the quiet dale, by which our lonely house, leaning against a rugged height, was surrounded. It was a lovely scene, sweetly accompanied by the tolling of distant bells, that called young and old, rich and poor, to that thanksgiving, and that expression of trust and hope, which brighten happiness and soothe misfortune.

The family, to whom we now belonged, was one of the kindest I ever have met with, amongst a people in which kind-heartedness is a prominent feature. We had a populous little world of children, which enlivened our peaceful abode, where one day followed the other in uninterrupted uniformity of quiet activity. The third day after our arrival, my faithful servants joined me. They had been guided

to our retreat by a cousin, to whom I entrusted the direction of my movements, getting, from time to time, notice through her of what was going on in the more distant part of the country; thus I remained at least in a kind of communication, with the outward world. My attendants had not achieved their end. They pronounced it utterly impossible to get a passport. They had tried their best eloquence with those to whom they had been directed —in vain! No one dared to expose himself, no one dared to move where military despotism reigned. The Austrian officers tried to convince the Roman Catholic inhabitants of that part of the country with arguments not to be gainsaid, that Kossuth's sole aim of agitation was to turn the whole Catholic population to the Protestant creed. This imposture did not effect its aim. The Hungarian is not easily accessible to religious fanaticism; he has nothing of the speculative turn of mind of the German, which is easily inflamed to dogmatic controversy. The Hungarian's imagination is a practical one: attached to the historical traditions of his country, which is rich in examples of religious toleration, he has no notion of the bloody contest of creed with creed. He feels that true religion—the love of God and man, the holy relation to his Creator, and to his fellow-creature—is superior to the differences of

creed. How much of the Papist enters the composition of the Catholic peasantry in Hungary may be denoted by the following little anecdote:

A Catholic candidate, at the elections for the Diet of 1848, in a Catholic county, had carried on a fierce theological agitation against his Protestant rival. He tried to gain an influential rustic voter, by assuring him, that the Catholic church would be seriously endangered if the Protestant candidate chanced to be elected. The Catholic peasant, however, contradicted this assertion, saying: "This cannot be: Kossuth, too, is a Protestant, and is he not our second saviour?" This deeply-felt assertion was an expression of too firm belief to be easily contradicted. The Protestant was elected; which proves, that the above-mentioned peasant was not the only one who held this opinion.

Secluded as we lived, seeing hardly any one, except our kind hosts, yet we were ever alive to the slightest report, which reached our mountains. We listened with breathless anxiety to our occasional visitors, who related of the unbending courage of Görgey's troops, hardened by the difficulties they had to overcome. It was said, that the officers and soldiers followed Görgey with blind subordination, and looked up to him with awe.

"What should it be, that thus their faith can bind?
The powers of Thought—the magic of the Mind!
Link'd with success, assumed and kept with skill,
That moulds another's weakness to its will;
Wields with their hands, but, still to these unknown,
Makes even their mightiest deeds appear his own.
Such has it been—shall be—beneath the sun,
The many still must labour for the one!
'Tis Nature's doom—but let the wretch who toils
Accuse not, hate not him who wears the spoil.
Oh! if he knew the weight of splendid chains,
How light the balance of his humbler pains!
Unlike the heroes of each ancient race,
Demons in act, but gods at least in face,
In Conrad's (Görgey's) form seems little to admire,
Though his dark eyebrow shades a glance of fire:
Robust, but not Herculean, to the sight,
No giant frame sets forth his common height:
Yet, in the whole, who paused to look again,
Saw more than marks the crowd of vulgar men;
They gaze and marvel how—and still confess
That thus it is, but why they cannot guess.
Sun-burnt his cheek, his forehead high and pale.

* * * * *

And oft perforce his rising lip reveals
The haughtier thought it curbs, but scarce conceals.
Though smooth his voice, and calm his general mien,
Still seems there something he would not have seen:
His features deepening lines and varying hue,
At times attracted, yet perplex'd the view,
As if within that murkiness of mind
Work'd feelings fearful, and yet undefined;
Such might it be—that none could truly tell—
Too close inquiry his stern glance would quell.

There breathe but few whose aspect might defy
The full encounter of his searching eye:
He had the skill, when Cunning's gaze would seek
To probe his heart and watch his changing cheek,
At once the observer's purpose to espy,
And on himself roll back his scrutiny,
Lest he to Conrad (Görgey) rather should betray
Some secret thought, than drag that chief's to-day.

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Slight are the outward signs of evil thought,
Within—within—'twas there the spirit wrought,
Love shows all changes—hate, ambition, guile,
Betray no further than the bitter smile;
The lip's least curl, the lightest paleness thrown
Along the govern'd aspect, speak alone
Of deeper passions; and to judge their mien,
He, who would see, must be himself unseen.

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Yet was not Conrad (Görgey) thus by Nature sent.

* * * * *

His soul was changed, before his deeds had driven
Him forth to war with men and forfeit heaven.
Warp'd by the world in Disappointment's school,
In words too wise, in conduct there a fool;
Too firm to yield, and far too proud to stoop,
Doom'd by his very virtues for a dupe,
He cursed those virtues as the cause of ill,
And not the traitors who betray'd him still.

* * *

On the other side most alarming tidings spread of the ruthless acts of violence, with which the Slovak ex-priest, Hurban, disturbed the counties around us. Having been at his entry protected by Austrian troops, his task was to incite the Slovaks against the Hungarians, and to make up a Slovak levy. He took to a particular mode for the accomplishment of this plan. The nucleus of his levy consisted of breadless beggar-like pedlars.*

Whenever Hurban arrived at a chief place of Slovak population, he summoned all the male inhabitants without distinction as to either age or occupation, and enforced his summons by practical means. Here he began his orations by praising the Emperor's paternal love for his people, and laid particular stress upon the assurance, "that the monarch was willing to take upon himself the whole burden of governing, in order to spare this care to his subjects." But as such speeches did not make the impression which Hurban expected, he got very angry with "the stupid folk," as he called them. Not much more successful were his orations on the past grandeur of the Sclavonic realm, and on the terrible oppressions which the illustrious sons of that

* The pedlars in Hungary are all Jews, or very wretched Sclavonians, the best of them deal with linen; the great bulk deal in earthenwares.

race had suffered from the Magyar nation. He urged them to join the Imperial banner, and when his words proved vain, enforced what he could not persuade. Wherever he went with his lawless band, exactions were the order of the day, the more so as he only used to invade those parts of the country, where no Hungarian troops were. As that was the case with our neighbourhood, we entertained great fear of a visit from Hurban, and his horde.

On the 2nd of February, I got the first news of my husband's safety; thanks to the Almighty, this was a great blessing! It was the first Sabbath-day of festive repose after long weeks of deep outwearing anxiety, which only a trust in the everlasting bounty saved from proving overwhelming to my feeble frame. I now began to take regular long walks in the morning and afternoon with my sweet children, trying thus to harden the darlings against the intense but dry cold, which, like an energetic mind, strengthens all, who are exposed to its influence. How grandly mild was this dale in its solemn simplicity! How radiant of tender sympathy for a yearning heart, when the sun's rosy farewell shone far extending over the hills, embodying thus the longing adieu, the echo of reluctant parting, which seemed to say, "we meet again!"

But over how many graves of fallen friends, and over how many widowed wives, and fatherless chil-

dren, and over how many roofless abodes, where raged the destructive storm of war, did these smiling rays shine!

Our kind hosts, anxious for our comfort, with truly parental care never inquired who I was? not only the father and mother, but even the younger members of the family, from whom childish curiosity might naturally have been expected, never so much as hinted a desire of knowing my name and former residence. They had, of course, been instructed by our protecting guide, that we had been driven from home, and they inquired no farther.

We got tidings from our estate, that it had been sequestrated; return thither was thus out of the question. I again sought means of joining my husband in safety. I applied to a gentleman in the neighbourhood, a foreigner, trusting that, by his connexions, he could forward my purpose. He proved most willing and ready, but in vain.

At this time, the awful report came, that Hurban was advancing towards our peaceful dale. We packed up the few things we had, and prepared to resort with our little regiments of infants to a remote abode, at the very top of a mountain, where not a living soul resided, except the forest-warden: but alas! no spot, however secluded, would have been inaccessible to the wide-spreading commotion. A chattering indiscretion, not rare with the Hun-

garians, (who generally by no means partake in the apostle Thomas' incredulity, but rather are apt to be guilty of the opposite extreme), published the rumour, that bayonets were concealed at the very place to which we were anxious to fly. This, naturally, cut off our retreat, as Hurban was sure to hear of the bayonets, of which he then, no doubt, would go in search.

I feared nothing more than that, when the enemy came, I might compromise the respectable family to whom I was so much indebted. I was therefore anxious to depart; but whither? this was the question constantly returning, and not easily answered.

I applied for advice to him who was the ever faithful companion and protector of myself and my dearest ones. We at last settled on calling again on my excellent cousins, who, being well acquainted with the whole county, could at least give us some directions.

So we parted from our new, but well-tried friends, from the secure shelter, where we had passed a comparatively happy fortnight, and again set out on the agitated sea of uncertainty. We had a short day's journey to my cousin. She gave me a direction, with the following words of hasty introduction, —"A friend in need;" and thus provided we wandered on.

Towards evening our carriage stopped in a cheerful village, at the door of a comely house. I must own my heart beat strongly. To resort with children, and all their necessary accompaniments, to utter strangers, unacquainted with their disposition and means, this was a heavy task. Necessity, however, is a stern leader. I had no choice!

Often in after-days, when I enjoyed in this smiling mansion the unrestrained comfort of home, I remembered the heavily-depressing feelings, with which I first stood on its threshold—an intruding stranger, as yet unaware of the genuine kindness of its inhabitants, who offered their bounty so generously, that I never experienced with them the humiliating pang, which thrills through the heart, when we receive material benefits from strangers.

This our kind-hearted hosts understood most practically, and thus we very soon were strangers no more to one another. My intention, however, was not to intrude longer than could be avoided in my way. I therefore exerted again all my energy to procure a passport. I inquired, applied, sent in different directions, and at last, with a woman's tenacity, trusted that it must be got. So I ventured a great attack, and sent to Pest itself, the head-quarter of the Austrian martial-government, to ascertain what could be done. My desire was to get for myself and my little ones a passport under

an assumed name, to be thus protected from the possible insult which my Hungarian name might draw upon me, when I chanced to meet rough soldiers, or especially if I should come in the way of any of Hurban's troops, who, as it was generally asserted, were delighted at any pretext of plunder. The answer I got from Pest was not encouraging. It said; "Travelling under an assumed name, with a passport to this purport, is, according to the Austrian laws, punished with imprisonment in the house of correction, and this is now more sternly kept than ever. You must expose yourself to a journey to Pest: there a passport to Vienna may perhaps be granted to you by favour. It is true that in Vienna you get no passport to foreign countries, but from thence escape is easier."

I must confess I could not find out the wisdom of this advice. If escaping was indispensable from Vienna, why not directly from the place where I was, which was much nearer to the frontier? If an assumed passport was prohibited, why escape certainly was so too. As to the morality of travelling, in any circumstances, under an assumed name, I had no scruples. Do not princes and their families frequently travel under assumed names, for the sole aim of saving themselves from troublesome ceremony? Why should I then, thought I, not

travel under an assumed name, when I simply and solely do it not to be molested by rough soldiers?

As for going to Vienna, probably to be detained there, I had not the slightest inclination. I did not choose to risk it, but rather was inclined to attempt an escape. Why should I be prevented from joining him to whom I lawfully belonged? My strength, however, began to fail. Kept up only by violent excitement, it gave way at the very moment of more repose. In ill-health, with two infants, and with the prospect of soon having a third, how should I travel, with such risks to undergo, as an assumed name exposed me to?

My heart yearned to join my husband; my anxiety for the children urged me not to risk it. So the scales of my opposed wishes stood pretty equal. In such a state, a little incident may decide. A home, in the most affectionate sense of this term, was offered to me, and gratefully accepted.

At this period sunshiny rays of hope broke through the wintry clouds of depression, which, at the entry of the Austrians, had darkened our horizon.

CHAPTER VI.

WAR-SCENES OF THE WINTER CAMPAIGN.

In the first days of January, Kossuth and the Committee of Defence had held a council of war at Pest, with the Generals Görgey, Vetter, Perczel, and Lázár. A deputation, at the head of which were Batthyányi, Deák and Archbishop Lonovics, had proceeded to the camp of Windischgrätz with proposals of peace; but they were all detained, and Windischgrätz declared, that: "he did not treat with rebels, and would accept nothing short of an unconditional surrender." After this no hope as to an agreement could any longer be entertained. It was, therefore, resolved not to risk a decisive battle under the walls of Buda, but to give up the capital, and to transfer

the government over the Tisza, (Theiss) until the lower army, which at that very time had beaten the Serbs, could move up to the Maros.

Görgey was to march over the mountains of Upper Hungary, to secure and carry off everywhere the government stores, and to threaten and to disjoin the columns of the Austrian Generals Götz, Jablonovski, Deym, Ramberg and Schlick.

As soon as Görgey had left Pest, he issued from Vácz a proclamation, in which he declared: that the Hungarian army fought for nothing else, than for the laws of 1848, and for the legitimate King Ferdinand V., and that it would defend the fatherland independently of any other authority. This was in fact a repudiation of Kossuth and the Committee of Defence.

Görgey now marched in three columns to Upper Hungary. Guyon commanded the rear, and by his heroic and fortunate manœuvre at Ipolyság, on the 10th of January, 1849, he covered the whole baggage and saved it thus from the pursuing enemy. Görgey himself, however, on the 17th of January met a decided check at Selmecz (Schemnitz) from the Austrian Generals Götz and Jablonovski. Guyon at the head of the northern column was more successful, and carried away the gold and silver stores of the government

from the mining districts, and from Neusohl the provisions of gunpowder. He reached the county of Szepes without any serious engagement. At Igló, (Neudorf), the Austrians took him by surprise in the night of the 2nd of February; a bloody struggle ensued in the streets, in which the Hungarians remained victorious and dispersed the enemy. Guyon then advanced to the county of Sáros, here he was opposed by a division of Schlick, which occupied the defiles of the steep heights of the Branyiszko. This elevated position, which was deemed impregnable, was stormed by Guyon and his brave men from below the valley. He was obliged to sacrifice the fourth part of his heroic troops, but all the defiles were carried,—the Austrians fled, completely routed. At the Tisza they twice had been beaten by Klapka, the 12th and 18th of January, and had been driven towards Kassa, where Görgey came to meet them. Thus pressed from two sides, they pursued in hasty marches the only passage left open by the narrow valleys of the counties of Torna and Gömör; at last they reached the neighbourhood of Tornallya, where Schlick took position on the favourable ground in the valley between Tornallya, Beje, Kiralyi and Sajó Gömör, and granted rest to his exhausted men.

On the 14th of February, several of the Austrian

Generals were dining in Sajó Gömör. Suddenly cannons resounded from the north, in the direction of Aggtelek. The startled officers hastened to ascertain the cause;—in half-an-hour the whole corps was in battle-array. The third column of Görgey was fully expected. His out-posts had in fact fired the shots, which had occasioned the alarm, but the Hungarians had retired again. The Austrians had hardly encamped, when repeated shots were heard from the opposite side. General Dembinsky, who had been at Miskolcz, had in time been apprized of the movements of the Austrians, and now came with eight-thousand men, to take Schlick in his rear. The Austrians were panic-stricken. Eye-witnesses related that even officers ran about crying aloud: "We are surrounded, we are lost!" A violent cannonade ensued for several hours, but no close attack was made by Dembinsky: he obviously awaited Görgey. The night silenced the cannonade. On the following morning the enemy had disappeared. Schlick had escaped with his corps to Rimaszombath, from hence to the mountains of Heves, and to the plain of Kàpolna, where at last with his troops decimated by the Hungarians, as well as by the restless marches, he joined the main corps of Windischgrätz.

Already then, in many quarters, the suspicion

was entertained, that Görgey, jealous of Dembinsky, had on purpose not supported him; and had on this account failed to urge the pursuit of Schlick, who could have been destroyed by the co-operation of the two Hungarian chiefs.

Dembinsky had come in January from Paris to Debreczen. He accompanied Perczel on a successful expedition, who gained, at Szolnok, an advantage over the enemy, of which however he did not sufficiently avail himself.

Dembinsky was hereupon appointed Commander in Chief of the Hungarian armies.

After the brilliant success of Guyon at the Branyiszko, Görgey had sent official reports to Debreczen, and had submitted to Kossuth and the Committee. In consequence, he received orders to join the army of the Tisza (Theiss); but Görgey's ambition was wounded at the position Dembinsky held, to whose command he was to be subordinated after the junction of the armies. Görgey could not bear any superior. Accordingly, when Windischgrätz, to save Schlick, marched towards Kápolna to meet him, and Dembinsky and Görgey joining there, accepted a battle on the 24th of February, a disagreement arose during the battle between the two generals. Görgey refused to execute the orders of his Chief, which he declared to be pernicious. The consequence of this discord was, that a mur-

derous struggle of two days had no decided result. The Hungarians lost ground the first day, but after the resistance experienced on the 25th, Windischgrätz did not venture to continue the battle on the third day, but returned to Pest. Dembinsky and Görgey marched to the Theiss. The spirit of the Hungarians, however, was raised anew by the victory of Damianics, at Szolnok, on the 26th of February.

Field Marshal Lieutenant Schlick, on his flight from the upper parts of the country, passed through our near neighbourhood, with his corps and several Austrian generals. They were accompanied by many carriages, occupied by anti-national Hungarians and their families, who were leaving their paternal soil, because their countrymen had re-occupied it. I was assured, that these renegades acted, wherever they could, with more wanton destructiveness than any of the Austrian soldiers. In one house, those gentlemen used the satin counterpanes as accoutrements for their horses. They pierced with pins the portrait of a highly respected and beautiful lady, dead long ago, only on account of her having been related to one of the Hungarian leaders. One of the most noted of these rebels against their own fatherland, Count Maurice Pálffy, freely asserted at this period: "that if the Austrians could not succeed in crushing the Hungarians, the Russians would be called in, and if this

did not prove sufficient, the peasants and the working classes in Hungary would be incited against the higher orders."

The majority of the Austrian officers likewise did not set an example of forbearing civility. I know of a general, who accosted a lady as a "Hungarian dog," because her wine did not satisfy his taste, and he believed "that she probably kept the better stores for the rebels." Another refused to understand Hungarian—"this rebel language," as he styled it—notwithstanding his perfect knowledge of it.

On the other side, some of the Austrian officers were highly praised by the Hungarians, who had to deal with them; but almost all knew little or nothing of the real state of Hungary and its inhabitants. They repeated the hackneyed story of Kossuth's aim to become king, and other similar tales of quite as little foundation, and were absolutely ignorant of the Hungarian Constitution, which, at least, may claim to be of more ancient date than the Austrian one, framed at Vienna, Kremsier and Olmütz. Of one national characteristic the Austrian soldiers, however, soon became aware: that the Hungarians are patriots, and that the war was a national one. At Rimaszombath, General Schlick mustered his troops. Some of the by-standers were admiring the precision with which the

soldiers performed the evolutions, when a little boy, who chanced to play in the street, cried out: "But in spite of this they shall be turned out of the country." One of the officers was about punishing this audacious expression of patriotism; but the General interposed in favour of the urchin, and said: "Patriotism is here instilled with the mother's milk!"

General Schlick became almost popular with the Hungarians, not on account of his way of dealing with them, but because he was considered in Hungary the most distinguished of the Austrian commanders. An anecdote was current about him, which, if perhaps not entirely correct, is characteristic of the public feeling.

Schlick had, many years ago, been stationed in Hungary; and it happened now, that a hussar, who had formerly attended him in private service when he was a colonel, had in one of the battles on the Tisza (Theiss) been taken prisoner by the Austrians. Schlick recognized him; and when the man appealed for his release to his former master, it was granted. Nevertheless, the hussar yet remained at the Austrian camp, and presented himself at the General's once more, most humbly thanking him, at the same time avowing that a hussar was but half a man without his sabre; which of course had been taken from him, when he was made prisoner.

"Well," answered Schlick, "you shall have it." The hussar's countenance brightened, and he gladly turned to the door; but stopped anew, and turned again to the General, who thereupon inquired what he wanted still? "My lord Colonel," the man replied, "I wish you so well, that I would give you good advice: do join us Hungarians; we are such honest people." The General was moved at the genuineness of his ancient servant, but sternly said: "Begone." The faithful soldier marched off with wonted subordination.

This affectionate sincerity, a national feature with the hussar, is strikingly matched with his undaunted daring; it may be called phlegmatic boldness and presence of mind.

In March, two hussars rode over from the Hungarian camp at Kövesd to the next village, to take a glass of wine. They found but poor stuff, and proceeded farther in search of this restorative. Nothing of the kind was to be had according to their tastes. So they went on and on, in search of their favourite beverage, till they at last chanced to arrive at Gyöngyös, about thirty-five English miles from Kövesd. They stopped at the inn, and getting what they desired, they feasted there comfortably, and began to inquire from the innkeeper if there were still any Austrians in the town. The reply was, that they had left some days ago. Our men

further asked, if the Mayor of the place was a patriot. "Not too much so," answered the host, and related, that on the preceding day, the magistrate had sent provisions to the enemy. After having done with their meal, the hussars proceeded to the Mayor; reproached him with his conveyance of provisions to the enemy, and announced that quarters must directly be prepared for six thousand men of the Hungarian army. After thus frightening the Mayor and those of the inhabitants who while the enemy was yet near at hand, were afraid to obey the commands of only two hussars, they closely examined whether none of the Austrians had remained behind, and heard that there was one officer who had delayed on account of an indisposition. The two adventurers found out his abode; went straight up to the officer, Colonel Montecucculi, accosted him as their prisoner, and assured him that resistance was vain, as their squadron was awaiting them within a little distance. The Colonel submitted; he was led to a waggon which they had previously ordered, and seated in it, and thus the hussars led him to their distant camp.

With such men, the healthful impersonation of the great bulk of their people, the Austrians had to deal; and so little did they understand these vigorous natures, in spite of their intercourse with them for centuries, that they employed means

which certainly never could act favourably on those whom they wished to impress. This was not only obvious in the contents of their proclamations, but likewise in the manner in which the publication of such manifestos was enforced. All over the districts in which the Austrians had sway, the priests and clergymen of all confessions were ordered to read from the pulpit, or before the altar, the proclamations of Windischgrätz. This command was given also to a clergyman of a village in the county of Torna, who had no great inclination to obey it. After having been repeatedly called upon to submit to the command, he saw no way to escape compliance, and at last said to the ruling officer: "I am ready; but when I shall read the proclamation, do let two of your soldiers stand at both sides of the altar, threatening me with fixed bayonets." The officer objected that this was opposed to the custom, and therefore could not be done. But the clergyman urged so strongly, that the support of military power would considerably enforce the effect of the words, that he carried his point. At the unwonted spectacle of the bayonets threatening their clergyman, the peasants were so utterly taken up with staring, that they did not listen to a single word of the proclamation.

But not only proclamations, but proscriptions

likewise were read in the sacred spot, where the Word of God alone should be pronounced.

With Schlick and his retreating army we received some of these lists of proscription. They varied considerably, as the commanders of every corps proscribed different persons, according to the dictates of his individual views. In the south, General Kiss and the deputy Vukovics were proscribed, and all those who had served as superior officers or civil commissaries against the Serbs. In Croatia this fate was allotted to all the friends of the Hungarians. How incorrectly the Austrians estimated the real position and influence of the Hungarian leaders, the lists of Schlick gave remarkable evidence. They contained a dozen names. Of course those of Kossuth, Szemere, Pulszky, Nyáry, and Madarász, as members of the Committee of Defence, and Mészáros, Perczel, Bem, Count Casimir Batthyányi, as generals. But next to these likewise the poet Petöfy; then the half crazy deputy Stancsics, whose speeches and leading articles in his journal, could get him no influence; Szöllösy, once interpreter in Zemlin, whose task now was in the ante-room of Kossuth, to entertain those who came to speak to the President of the Committee; lastly Irányi and Lukács, both Commissaries, the latter in Györ (Raab), the former in

Eperies, both energetic and intelligent young men, but who manifested their activity only in a limited sphere. Kossuth's wife and his three children were added to these, and all were represented as fugitives. Their descriptions in the Hue and Cry, were on this account especially advertised at the Galician frontier.

Some of the portraits were not only faithfully, but even poetically drawn in the proscriptions; others of these were remarkable for their inaccuracy and absurdity.

Kossuth's portrait was given in a manner in which a novelist might depict his hero. His proud forehead was set in contrast with his smiling lip and pearly teeth. The brilliant glow of his dark blue eyes, shadowed by the long black eye-lashes, was as well noted as the sickly paleness of the noble countenance. His charming voice was especially pointed out; no less his knowledge of all the principal European languages; and besides, it was mentioned that in summer he never used to wear a cravat, but simply a curled collar. This little circumstance seemed to imply, that in spite of the flight ascribed to the parties denoted, yet the proscribers anticipated that the war might last to the summer. But compared to the description of Kossuth, the sketch of his wife was not favourable. She was noticed as haughtily glancing down upon

others. Poor woman! suffering in her eyes, she certainly would not have been recognized by the sharp haughtiness of her glance. But it was revolting, no doubt, to see a helpless lady with three children, the eldest hardly eight years old, thus persecuted as outlaws.

With Mészáros the Hue and Cry also could not help acknowledging that he had the honest countenance of a hussar. Madarász however was treated maliciously by the assertion, that his colour was Black and Yellow. On the whole, the likeness given of him was a caricature: it was said that he had the physiognomy of a gipsy, and large hands habitually inserted in the pockets of his blue mackintosh.

In the round and healthful face of Szemere, pensive reverie was detected. Irányi was painted as an Adonis, just accomplished by the hands of his fashionable tailor. My husband was unrecognizable from the description. Relative to Nyáry—who never was a disciple of fashion—it was mentioned, "his dress is not known, but is in any case elegant." That Petöfy was also proscribed, could not fail to attract particular attention. It proved that the Austrians were as much afraid of a poet as they were of orators and generals. His proscription was a tribute to his genius. He was no editor of newspapers, but his name was well known all over Hungary. Every one knew the poet, who, not

yet twenty-five years old, was the pride of his country.

Petöfy, born in 1823, was the son of the keeper of a Csárda,* in lower Hungary, who at the same time was a butcher. The boy attended the school of the village, afterwards the college of Debreczen, and became at last a common soldier. But he did not give up literary pursuits, and had at that period printed in the newspapers several small poems, which attracted attention. The life of an Austrian soldier, completely subordinate to the arbitrary whims of his brutal corporal, and to the often no less brutal arrogance of the Austrian officer, soon grew insupportable to the young poet. He left the military service, engaged himself as comedian with a wandering troop, but in this line likewise he did not prove successful. He was not destined to be the Garrick of his fatherland. In one of his wanderings he came to Pest, and published more of his poetry. The critics dealt hardly with him. Petöfy had the susceptibility of a self-taught genius, and was not free from the rudeness of the son of the open plain. His poetry was animated with the vigorous breath of nature. These primitive accents of the prairie produced the same effect in the artificially refined society of Pest, which the deeply-felt

* Csárda is a tavern on the wide plain in Lower Hungary, resembling a "Khan" in eastern countries.

melodies of Burns made on the carefully polished English lyric of his times.

At first Petöfy was naturally severely censured. He was reproached with the neglect of rule, and with the insignificance of some of his poems. To these, in part well-founded, criticisms, Petöfy answered in a most unscientific manner, mingling the conceit of inexperience with the pride of the poet aware of his vocation. A novel, which he wrote at this period, did not answer at all: it showed that he had not the slightest knowledge of the relations of society. In this respect his dress was entirely in accordance with his notions. Nothing could induce him to wear a French-fashioned evening dress, or a cravat, or gloves, or a narrow-rimmed hat. These peculiarities estranged him from educated society, and this embittered him to a certain extent. Nevertheless, by the ingenuous purity of his poems, their lyrical powers, and their improving artistical accomplishment, he became the favourite of the public. By and by his roughness got smoothed; probably his marriage with an amiable person had its share in this fortunate metamorphosis; but he remained the sworn enemy of cravats.

He then also took more active interest in political life, and his views were republican. When in March, 1848, revolutions agitated the continental capitals, Petöfy, was on the 15th of March, at the

head of those inhabitants of Pest, who *de facto* abolished the censorship by printing at Landerer's press some patriotic stanzas by Petöfy and their own petition to the home-office; after which they went to Buda, where the home-office acceded to their requests.

Petöfy deemed the concessions insufficient, which the Diet, then assembled at Pressburg, wished to be granted. He exhibited, as a party sign, a red-feather, and began to agitate for a Republic. But the men, who in those critical days of transition, were called upon by the public trust to direct affairs, Klauzál, Nyáry, and Pulszky—immediately brought forward this question in a public meeting, and the Republicans remained in an insignificant minority. Petöfy was averse to call forth dissensions, and henceforth kept silent on this subject. But the views he had expressed in March, shut him out from a career in the Diet. He was not elected deputy, in spite of the sympathy the poet found with lord and peasant. Subsequently he entered the army; but Bem was the only one of the Generals with whom he always remained on good terms. He accompanied him on his various adventurous expeditions against the Wallach levy, against Puchner, and against the Russians. In more than one combat, Petöfy highly distin-

guished himself. But when he was not on horseback, sword in hand, he composed songs, breathing freedom and victory, in which he exalted Bem, his favourite hero, the only one who indulged his antipathy to cravats. Mészáros, the Minister of War, a man of most sincere kind-heartedness and good-humour, yet had no forbearance with the neglect of the prescribed military dress. He put Petöfy under arrest for his positive refusal to wear a cravat. The poet revenged himself by bitter epigrams, and left the Hungarian army. But he entered it again in Transylvania, and served under Bem, who was very fond of him. Since the last unfortunate battles, no one has heard of him. It is unknown whether he fell in battle—whether he had been doomed to the fate of those wounded "Honvéds," who, remaining in Transylvania, were thrown by the Wallachs into the salt-mines, or whether he is wandering about in disguise until some occasion may enable him to share the detention of his friends in Turkey, or to join those of his countrymen, fortunate enough to have touched the hospitable shore of England.

To this land likewise all my thoughts were turned, as I had received tidings that my husband had safely arrived there. When constrained by circumstances to passive resignation, I wanted to prepare means of active movement at least

for the future. I therefore wrote a circumstantial account of my position and that of my children to my parents who resided in Vienna, and requested them to get a passport for us in the course of two or three months; as after the birth of my child I wanted to follow my husband. As the course of the mail was stopped, it was impossible to send the letter by this means. I resolved to send my maid, an Austrian girl, back to her native country, and intrusted to her the lines for my relatives. I did not seal or even fold up the letter. The young person, afraid of robbery on her road, sewed the letter as well as her money, into her dress.

Several days after her departure I got some illegible lines, scribbled with a pencil. With difficulty I succeeded in making out, that these came from my poor maid, and informed me of her adventures.

When she arrived at Balassa-Gyarmath, the market-town close to our former residence, she was desired to show her passport. The functionary appointed for the examination of such papers refused to sign it: he had recognized the girl as having been in our service, for he had himself frequently been in our house in former days. The young person was questioned and cross-questioned, not only about what she knew of my husband, but like-

wise about our poor little ones and myself. Then her examination was put off to the subsequent morning, and she was freely left to sleep in her room at the inn. The next morning, however, she was summoned again, and given up to the jailor of the prison, who undressed her and unstitched her clothes. In her gown he found the letter and some money, which he delivered up to the authorities. They imprisoned the poor girl in a room, from which she had found means to slip the note which related her woes.

I felt considerably puzzled what course to pursue. If I appealed to the Austrian authorities, my place of refuge was easily traced, and if the country where I was staying should likewise happen to be occupied by the enemy, I should no longer have any chance of joining my husband. But I could not leave the poor girl, without an attempt for her rescue. I wrote therefore to persons, whom I knew to be influential,—but I got no answer.

Three weeks had passed, when my maid returned. She owed her release from the fortress of Buda, where she had last been confined, mainly to the kind interference of an Austrian gentleman, who by chance found out her situation, and soon became perfectly aware of her harmlessness, which was also acknowledged after her final examination. In fact, it is difficult to understand under what

pretext she was detained so long, as the contents of the letters found upon her were declared perfectly inoffensive, and without the least political import. Of course I inquired about every particular she had undergone. What most deeply affected me, was the account she gave of Count Louis Batthyányi, whom she had met in the corridor adjacent to her cell. She had seen him but a few months before at Soprony, but his countenance was so much altered, that she never would have recognized him, had he not addressed her. How could this be otherwise! Louis Batthyányi's haughty brow and eagle eye to grow furrowed and dim within the walls of a dungeon. His lofty mind and aristocratic reserve to be exposed to the searching inquiries of inferiors, accustomed to deal with vulgar minds! Count Batthyányi, the noble descendant of the Palatines, the stern leader of his nation, the proud champion of royalty,—to be imprisoned in his very act of public mediation,—and dragged from court martial to court martial. What must he have felt! What must he have suffered!

During this period, in the month of March, Hurban again troubled our neighbourhood with his hordes, who became so notorious for their excesses, that Austrian officers themselves disowned these brethren in arms. Wherever they approached,

every article of value was carefully packed up, and conveyed as far as possible out of their reach. We only kept the most indispensable necessaries at home, and conveyed everything else we had to remote spots. Even in the Sclavonic countries the people grew so exasperated, that it was not difficult to raise a levy against the ringleader and his followers. No soldiers of the regular army could be spared for this purpose; the national guards therefore had alone to support the levy.

I saw several of the peasant-heroes excited by wine and brandy, which they had tasted in honour of their imperturbable courage, brandishing their hay-forks, and looking down with triumphant winks on their howling children, and crying wives. These certainly forgot every blow of love,* and of anger, in their dread not to see their sires and husbands any more.

The anxiety of the wives was not doomed to hard trial: the campaign did not last long. Hurban's gang scampered off at the very first show of a soldier-like resistance, and those of the poor wretches, who had less agility, gave themselves willingly up as an easy price to the conquerors.

One of the national-guards of Röcze, a Sclavonic

* The Sclavonic peasant's wife does not believe herself beloved by her husband, until he has evinced his affection by vigorous blows freely bestowed upon her.

borough, in the county of Gömör, by his martial countenance made such an impression on the beaten men of Hurban, that six of them delivered their arms to him, and declared themselves his prisoners. The conqueror desired them to retain their arms, and carry them themselves, as six muskets would incommode him: but he commanded them to march in front under his eye, and threatened to shoot them all, if one attempted to escape. They walked on submissively. After a while, the bold citizen of Röcze was fortunate enough to capture likewise a drummer, whom he ordered to drum. On this well-known sound, five more of the distressed band appeared, and also surrendered. Thus, preceded by a drummer and eleven prisoners, the national-guardsman triumphantly returned home. But when in Röcze the arms of the valiant Hurbanists were examined, it was found that the muskets could not have answered their aim, because they loaded the cartridges in their muskets with the wrong side upwards. Hurban, himself no soldier, had forgotten to drill them as to the loading of their muskets. In the counties of Szepes and Abaúj, to which these defeated *Braves* fled, many of the inhabitants yet experienced the miseries of their pillaging. They at last, in part went home, in part retired with their booty to Galicia.

Hurban himself had decamped on the eve of the

Hungarians' approach; but he left to his men a pompous proclamation, in which he exhorted them to courageous resistance and valiant feats, and promised to get reinforcements, and then to appear again. He escaped narrowly on his white horse, which he always used to ride; probably in honour of his patron Svatopluk, the King of the Marahans (Moravians), whose dominion in the second half of the ninth century extended to the Danube. This king was beaten, and driven over the Carpathian mountains, by Arpád, the first Duke of the Hungarians. The popular legend says: Arpád sent a white horse, with red caparison, to Svatopluk, whom he summoned to sell him in exchange for the horse as much pasture-ground as the horses of the Hungarians required for food, and as much water as they required for drink.

Svatopluk sent back to Arpád a bundle of grass of the heath of Alpár, and a bottle of water of the Danube, and kept the horse. Arpád accepted the grass and the water, according to the oriental conception, as tributes of homage. He took possession of the country, and drove away Svatopluk, who had not meant his bargain to be interpreted in this manner.

Thus Hungary was sold by the King of the Moravians, for a white horse.

Svatopluk consoled himself in his flight with the

thought, that at least the white horse had been saved, if the country was lost.

This white horse always remains an object of raillery for the Hungarian peasant to banter the Sclavonians with.

Not long after the country had been rid of Hurban, twelve national-guardsmen of the county of Gömör, suddenly appeared on the 14th of March at noon, on the market-place of the patriotic town of Losoncz; which, with the whole county of Nógrád, was still subjected to Austrian sway. Austrian soldiers still were in the villages around. The leader of the bold little Hungarian troop ascended the steeple of the tower, and threw down the black and yellow standard, which had been raised there. The second act was to arrest the first magistrate of the town, who had been appointed by the Austrians, and to send him to Miskolcz, together with some carriages full of boots, which had been ordered for the Imperial soldiers. At first, the inhabitants of Losoncz witnessed, with perplexed astonishment, the feats of the audacious young men; but as it was the eve of the anniversary, which recalled to memory the first movements of 1848 in Pest, the streets of Losoncz were enlivened by the sound of gay music, and the light of festive torches. On the morrow, similar demonstrations were hazarded in Balassa-Gyarmath, before the county-house.

The Austrian officers in Nógrád, and the Imperial Commissary, Baron Majthényi, were exasperated at these occurrences. Losoncz was to be punished. Several companies of infantry, and a squadron of lancers, with one rocket-battery, were ordered to march to that place. Majthényi, with several other gentlemen undertook to direct the whole expedition; they however did not venture to the town itself, but, with cautious prudence, went to a country-seat, about four English miles distant from Losoncz. The commander of the Austrian garrison of Neusohl was likewise ordered to send reinforcements.

Two days before, the Hungarian Major Beniczky had come to Gömör, with a very small body of troops to complete his battalion, and assist the neighbourhood. In Rimaszombath he got tidings of what threatened Losoncz, by some persons who fled from their abodes. Beniczky did not linger.

The second of April was darkened by showers of snow. The Hungarians consisted of seven hundred foot soldiers—most of them ill-equipped recruits—with two six-pounder cannons, and thirty-two hussars, who had strayed from different regiments and were now employed to cover the guns. However, they set out and halted on a height, about an hour's distance from Losoncz. Here they were met by several citizens, who related, that besides the Austrian corps which had come from Balassa

Gyarmath, reinforcements from Neusohl had arrived. The whole number of hostile troops now occupying the town, were three thousand infantry and one division of cavalry, with a rocket-battery. This certainly was a force too disproportionate to be attacked by so few soldiers as Beniczky had at his disposal. In consequence, he addressed his hussars. "Heroes! we are to meet, not only the enemies whom we expected to find in Losoncz, but many more of them. Their number is far superior to ours—are you willing to attack?" "How many are they? in what proportion are we to fight them?" exclaimed an old hussar. "Four or five to one," replied the leader. "Well," said the common hero,* "if there are not ten to one, we spurn them!" So they advanced.

In the town, at nine o'clock in the morning, the troops from Balassa Gyarmath had arrived. The cavalry had been quartered in the suburb, and in the part of the town adjacent to the road on which they came; the infantry proceeded to the market-place, where most of the men were accommodated in the Casino (club-house), and in a hotel adjoin-

* The Huugarian regiments, when apostrophized by their commanders, are always addressed as,—"Vitéz" (heroes), even in the Austrian army. Every private soldier is a "Köz vitéz" (private hero).

ing it. About eleven, came the detachment from Neusohl, commanded by a major, who was a Hungarian born, and now served against his country. Officers and privates were half frozen and wet through by the rough weather. The officers hastened to change their dress, the privates to the boiling meat. Not aware of the enemy, they neglected to set regular out-posts: a few sentinels only were placed around the town.

But the clock had not struck twelve, when three Hungarian hussars appeared at full gallop. They ranged themselves in the midst of the market-place, looked proudly around, and seemed to seek the Austrians they had not yet encountered. A shower of balls was not slow to greet them from the windows of the hotel. One of these too rash warriors was struck; but in this moment the two remaining hussars were joined by their twenty-nine comrades, who had stealthily brought up the two cannons, which were directly pointed and discharged against the hotel and the Casino. In the meanwhile, the captain of the lancers had assembled his soldiers, and attacked the two cannons; a well-aimed shot however hit his horse, he fell; and falling, cried out: "Lancers retreat!" The disconcerted men fled in confusion. The well-directed fire of the two cannons compelled the troops in the Casino

and in the hotel to surrender. The resistance of the enemy was broken. The other soldiers, who were dispersed in the different quarters, had no time to concentrate. Beniczky had got such precise notices of the measures taken by the Austrians, that he could without difficulty direct his men to the main points, and surprise the leaders of the enemy before they even were aware of the real danger. One of their superior officers was surprised while shaving, escaped half apparelled into the streets, and ran on and on without recovering himself. He left behind his equipage, luggage and money. His subordinates followed his example, no less so Baron Majthéngi and his companions, who after having hidden themselves two days and two nights, resorted to the head-quarter of General Ramberg in Balassa-Gyarmath, twenty-six miles from Losoncz.

The result of the little expedition was brilliant. The small Hungarian troop, altogether no more than about seven hundred and fifty men—had made two hundred and sixty prisoners, and dispersed an enemy four times their superior. So great had been the vigour of the attack, that the vanquished saved only their persons, and left considerable booty. The military cash, the music-band, all the luggage, and ammunition, the horses of the officers and lancers, were taken by the

Hungarians, of whom no more than three had fallen.

Amongst the prisoners were several officers, at their head the Major, a Hungarian born. His arrest was characteristic. He was just at dinner with some other persons: the conversation turned upon the "Guerillas," whom Szemere, as Hungarian Commissary, was organizing most energetically at this period. The Major inquired contemptuously about their bold undertakings, and in particular about those of them, who a few days previously had been seen in the neighbourhood, and said: "Certainly it would be a good job, if these fellows were to hazard a surprize upon Losoncz; this," as he expressed himself, "would occasion a capital hare-hunting." But these very words were answered by the cries of alarm. The Major exclaimed: "No doubt, here they are!" and precipitately hurried to the window. An armed man came up the street. "Why!" said the Major, addressing the persons who were in the room, "that fellow below is dressed just like a Honvéd?" "He *is* a Honvéd," replied one of those present; "and behind him comes a second, third, fourth, and fifth." The Major did not seem at his ease; he ordered the door of the house to be shut. But the servant who went to perform the order met on the threshold

a lieutenant of the Honvéds with three men, who inquired for the officer quartered in the house. One of the people below cried out with raised voice: "No officer is quartered here!" but pointed to the first floor. In a few moments the sword and the pocket-book of the Major were in the hands of the Honvéd officer, who examined the contents of the latter; and when amongst other papers he found a note for a thousand florins, he returned these to his astonished prisoner with the words: "Major, my duty is to take charge of your papers, but this does not belong to them."

The Major was conveyed this same day with the other prisoners to Rimaszombath, and was quartered in one of the best houses of this little town. He was visited by several of his former acquaintances and by superior county-officers. One of these, when he saw the obvious embarrassment of the prisoner, who had served against his countrymen, kindly assured him, that he had nothing to fear from the Hungarian Government, whose system in regard to the treatment of prisoners of war was not only humane, but generous. One of the gentlemen likewise said, speaking to the detained officer: "You might still make up for your wrongs against your fatherland, if you henceforward defend its cause." "No, no,"—objected the prisoner,—"I am not

worthy of this; a Hungarian born, I fought against my country. This can never be pardoned to me."

At a subsequent period the Austrians asserted, and possibly believed, that the bold attack of Beniczky had been preconcerted with the citizens of Losoncz, whom they accused of having hidden in the cellars the hussars, who had so suddenly appeared in the market-place,—and the report was, that the enemy had threatened the town with destruction, whenever he should return. If the law ever should and could punish feelings and thoughts, which were not followed by deeds*, then this Austrian decree might have been justified by jurisprudence, as it cannot be denied that many of the inhabitants of Losoncz sympathized with their patriotic brethren. But if they were joy-stricken, when the Austrians were panic-stricken, I do not think it the less true, that the former were fully as surprized as the latter. The old Austrian

* The destruction of the town of Losoncz by the Russians, had no relation to the above-described event. When the Russians, in August, occupied the town, several officers, seated at the table in the hotel, memorable by the attack of the 2nd of April, were taken by surprise by Guerillas, who summoned them to surrender. This the officers refused; a contest ensued, in which the Russians were killed. The consequences of this occurrence were dreadful for the poor citizens: their houses were plundered and burnt down, and many lives were lost in the general devastation of the town.

captain no-doubt was right, who said, when one of his fellow-officers had declaimed violently against the sympathy with which the hussars had been greeted in Losoncz: "Is it not natural for Hungarians to sympathize with Hungarians? How can *we* expect sympathy? our lot is the common lot of invaders."

CHAPTER VII.

THE EPOCH OF THE HUNGARIAN VICTORIES.

When in the first period of the war with the Austrians the Hungarian armies had retired to the Tisza and the Maros, strong Hungarian garrisons had remained in the fortresses of Leopoldstadt, Komárom, Esseg, and Pétervárad (Peterwardein). But in Leopoldstadt, the commander of the fortress, Colonel Ordódy, was a man of weak character. Notwithstanding the opposition of the commander of the troops, Colonel Mednyánszky, and of the commander of the artillery, Major Gruber,—Ordódy, after the third bombarding, gave up the fortress unconditionally. Some months later, when the Russian aid was approaching, Ordódy was sentenced by Austrian court-martial to eighteen years im-

prisonment, and the prisoners of war, Mednyánszky and Gruber, were hanged. In Esseg too, the officers of the garrison succeeded in getting away the determined and brave Count Casimir Batthyányi. When he had departed, Colonel Földváry surrendered the fortress to the Austrian Field-Marshal Lieutenant Nugent. Komárom and Péterváradwere besieged.

At the end of March, when the junction of the two Hungarian armies had been achieved, and Bem had driven the Russians out of Transylvania, the government of Debreczen thought the moment was come to take the offensive. Perczel was sent with a corps to the relief of Péterváradt. Bem's task it was, to subdue the Serbs in the Banat, and shield Transylvania against every invasion. Görgey was to lead the main army to Pest and Komárom, while smaller corps beleaguered Arad and Temesvár.

Perczel succeeded brilliantly in his expedition. After some successful engagements in the neighbourhood of Szöreg, he went against St. Tamás, a fortress deemed impregnable, which the year before had so long resisted the Hungarian attacks. Colonel Földváry however, more valiant or more trustworthy than his brother, the commander of Esseg, now carried St. Tamás by the bayonet, and destroyed its fortifications. The Serbs then were attacked

in the Roman intrenchments, and were soon driven out. Pétervárad was relieved, and the Báiska cleared. Only Titel, and seven places in the district of the Csaikists, protected by marshes, still held out under the Serb Knicsanin. General Suplikatz, the Serbian Woiwod, had died suddenly. General Theodorovich, who was to replace him, retreated; the Serbs did not trust him. As Perczel, after the relief of Pétervárad, turned anew against the Serbs, these accepted the battle, headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Puffer, brother-in-law of Colonel Mayerhoffer, not far from Tomasovatz, and were completely routed.

At the same time a body of the Transylvanian army made its way by the valley of the Maros to the Banat. Weisskirchen and Pancsora hoisted the Hungarian tri-colour. With these columns likewise returned the Germans and Hungarians, who during the preceding year had in these parts been driven from their hearths. Many of them revenged themselves upon the Serbs, who had plundered them, had taken possession of their fields and had murdered their wives and children. In the Bácska, Perczel could not prevent reprisals, the less so as in several places the Serbs treacherously surprized the Honvéds during their sleep, and more than once murdered them in their abodes. Several Serbian villages were ravaged in this period.

The victories in the Lower country were however surpassed by the successful battles, in which the main army under Görgey completely defeated the united armies of Windischgrätz, Schlick, and Jellachich.

On the third of April, Jellachich was beaten at Tapio-Bicske by Damianics; on the fourth, the Generals of Windischgrätz experienced the same fate at Isaszeg, where the Austrian batteries were taken by storm. This attack was directed by Damianics and Klapka. On the fifth the Hungarians entered Gödöllo, a borough about eighteen miles from Pest. The Austrians had so hastily retreated from this place, that Kossuth occupied one night the bed which Windischgrätz had left in the morning of the same day.

Kossuth's presence in the head-quarters of Görgey raised the troops to enthusiasm. Even Görgey seemed to partake of this feeling. When Kossuth, on the morning subsequent to his arrival in Gödöllo, stepped out of his room, he found Görgey sleeping on the threshold, where he obviously had passed the night. Kossuth, highly astonished, inquired as to the cause? Görgey answered: "Is it not natural that the President of Hungary should be guarded by his most faithful general?"

Kossuth issued a proclamation, in which he asserted that Bishop Horváth should soon bless the

Hungarian army on the Rákos. This was accepted as a prophecy; the bravery of the Hungarians appeared irresistible. Damianich, Klapka, Leiningen, Nagy Sándor, Knezich, and Colonel Földváry, the second brother of the gallant conqueror of St. Tamás, were the heroes of the day. Görgey was reproached with not sufficiently availing himself of his victories.

Aulich now was left behind to threaten Pest, whilst Görgey continued his march towards Komárom, after he had persuaded Kossuth to return to Debreczen.

The 10th of April the Austrian General Göcz was defeated by Görgey at Vácz, where Leiningen highly distinguished themself. Göcz himself fell in the action. The Hungarian commander buried the Austrian General with all military honours. The thunder of the cannons discharged over his grave was heard in Pest. They proclaimed to the inhabitants, that the Austrians could no longer hold the capital, which Aulich approached in brilliant cavalry engagements: Windischgrätz was recalled, and Field-Marshal - Lieutenant Welden took the command. He left Pest in the night of the 18th of April, and hastened on the south bank of the Danube towards Komárom, to outstrip Görgey, who marched on the north side. General Henzi was left in Buda as

forlorn hope. But before Welden could arrive, the Austrian General Wolgemuth was decidedly beaten on the 19th at Nagy Sarló, by the combined attack of Damianics and Klapka. On the 26th, the army of Welden himself was put to flight under the walls of Komárom, where Knezich decided the victory by crossing the Danube under the guns of the Austrians, who hastened in wild confusion towards Pressburg. The whole country greeted these feats with joyful acclamations. The proud Austrian army had been beaten six times in the course of three weeks. Tidings of victory thronged from all sides. The re-actionaries in Vienna trembled. But Görgey stopt half-way. Instead of pursuing his success with the mass of his army, leaving for the siege of Bude the smallest adequate force, he sent only ten thousand men after the enemy, lingered at Komárom for a whole week, and then turned back with thirty thousand soldiers to sit down before the fortress of Buda.

Was it treachery? Was it irresolution? I cannot decide; at any rate nothing but his tarrying allowed time for the Austrians to be joined by the Russians. It seems that Görgey was then averse to cut off the possibillty of negociating with Austria. Perhaps likewise he envied Kos-

suth the most elevated position, which he himself disdained to accept from the hands of the man, whom his unbounded ambition and the bitterness of his heart taught him to hate.

Kossuth had freely declared to Görgey, that whatever might be his ambitious aim, he (Kossuth) would exert all his powers to get it for him. But Görgey viewed with hatred all superiority whatever, and whilst the whole country awoke to the ecstacy of triumph, he nursed in his corps of officers the disdainful antipathy, which is so easy to excite in soldiers against civilians. The foundation of the ensuing misfortunes of the country was now laid. Discord was sown with design.

Amongst the contending passions of proscription and war, which raged over hill and dale, and thus could not fail to reach even our peaceful abode, my youngest boy was born, surrounded by strangers, far from his father, who would have welcomed him with the blessing of joy!

But the strangers smiled on the new citizen with feelings of anxious love for the innocent and helpless. They nursed my babe and myself with a care, which can only be conceived by those tender natures, to whom that chilling selfishness is unknown, which alone renders human mind insensible to the joy and woe, to the right and wrong of

their fellow-creatures. Soothed by such kindness, I had then no care. Restless care is almost always the child of artificial want. Guiltless misfortune, and unhesitating faith, give birth to energy, whose penetrating eye sickly care cannot stand.

My excellent friends tried to amuse me. They easily achieved it by recurring to games at cards with a jolly Franciscan friar, who used to visit us daily. This pastime was not a fatiguing excitement with us, but simply an amusement, which the friar relished in so funny a way, that he raised an unceasing laugh.

Our Franciscan was the healthful picture of ample enjoyment of every kind of food—solid and fluid—wine and spirits excepted. He was a specimen of perfect contentment. His delight was to share, with whomsoever he chanced to meet, all he had—his slender purse, as well as his merry joviality. Most conscientious in the observance of his clerically proscribed duties, he strictly fulfilled them; but when he had done with these, he gave himself up to enjoy everything he was allowed and possibly could get. Lent was a hard quarantine for him, which he stood heroically, sustaining himself, during his abstinence from meat, with large supplies of strong coffee, of which he one day, on a festive occasion, took no less than thirty cups.

He travelled about a good deal in the neighbourhood, was liked everywhere, and deemed indispensable at all parties. With politics he no more meddled, than they meddled with him, but gladly attended every feast and play, connected or unconnected with political meetings. Report—which certainly not seldom calumniates—related of our friar, that when once he was overturned with his carriage, a pack of cards fell from his cowl.

In former days he had visited Vienna, but never spoke of his adventures on this tour. The cause of this silence, uncommon with him, was, that he had met with all kinds of difficulties, which already had occasioned more jest than even his good humour cared for. When he first stepped into the capital of Austria, he could not find his way in it. Perfectly unacquainted with the German language, he addressed every passenger in Hungarian; and forgetful that this medium, so current in his own neighbourhood, would not pass in Vienna, he wondered that nobody understood him. After having wandered and tried in every direction, he was so worn out in body and mind, that he got quite distracted. At last, an ingenious thought lighted in from the depth of his despair. This thought led him to the very first monastery which he could find; there he rested, and questioned the hospitable priests in Latin. Never had he felt more

happy and proud at his own and his brethren's learned accomplishments. This, of course, is but one episode of the memorable journey of our stout hero.

Easter Tuesday came, and with it manifest anxiety to our monk. How he dreaded this day! he hardly ventured out of his room; but service he must perform: he must go to church! Easter Tuesday was the day of retribution to him. In former times, he had used too freely the Hungarian privilege of Easter Monday, when the popular custom allows to every male person, whatever be his age or station, to pour water over every female he meets. But on Tuesday, the females have the right to return this polite attention.* Our friar was by no means of the opinion of the girls, who consider it a distinction to be watered like buds of roses, and who treat the lads, who thus accost them, with a breakfast of wine in the Hungarian, and of brandy in the Sclavic, parts of the country. Our friar, on Easter Monday, had spoiled more than one bonnet, and had wetted numerous tresses!

* The origin of this Hungarian custom is unknown to me; but in India we find something similar. During the days of the spring-festival "Huli," everybody met with, may be sprinkled with red dust and perfumes. May not perhaps the custom in Hungary bear reference to some tradition which the Hungarians derived from the East?

This the females of the whole village never could forget: they had sworn a pouring revenge. The monk long knew how to avoid it, by gliding so slily to church, that no one could notice his escape. In this way he saved himself for a couple of years. But his bye-ways were discovered, and an ambush laid, from whence he was greeted with a plashing rain. Since this day of judgment, Easter Tuesday's peace has departed from our friar, who never is more submissively amiable with the ladies, than the week preceding this memorial so awful to him.

It was a sweet impression of festive peace, when the peasant girls, with their wide muslin aprons, which wholly cover their dark petticoats,—their red corslets, their long tresses interwoven with gaudy ribbons, and their purple boots,—walked to church, accompanied and followed by the elders and the young lads. The married women are inseparable from their stately national caps, the old men from their "bundas," embroidered more or less richly, according to the earnings of the owner. The lads do not keep so strictly to one and the same costume; they sometimes alternate their white hanging sleeves and loose jackets, with nicely fitting cloth apparel; but the mustachios and spurs seldom fail to impress the national stamp on the appearance of the young Hungarian.

Not much time, however, was granted to the contemplation of such objects. Once more Austrian forces had invaded the neighbourhood where we then were staying. General Benedek had occupied Rozsnyó (Rosenau), a town in the county of Gömör. One of his first measures was to summon the Catholic and Protestant clergy there, the civil authorities, and the inhabitants of the town, to a meeting. All were assembled, when the General entered the room. The Catholic Bishop of Rozsnyó occupied, of course, the seat of honour at the head of the table. The General pushed him aside most uncourteously, covered himself with his hat, and addressed the congregation with a speech, in which he declared, that the whole Hungarian revolution was but a sedition of the Protestants, supported by lack of due regard for all authority. "Therefore," he said, "especially the Protestant clergymen and schoolmasters should be put under the surveillance of the police." To enforce, by example, his sermon on the exercise of due respect, he carried away, as hostages, fifteen of the most respected citizens. This General was a Protestant and a Hungarian himself. But an army, which, like that of Austria, is even in civil concerns not subject to the general laws of the country, forms a separate State within the State; and, indeed, in that crisis it was wielding the whole executive power. The *esprit de corps* of such an army

easily forgets creed and fatherland in the intoxication of prætorian wantonness.

General Vogel, who likewise in April disquieted the Upper districts of the country, acted with as little humanity and forbearance as Benedek. No attempt was made to conciliate either the feelings of the people at large, or even of those individuals who were less thoroughly imbibed with patriotism, than the great bulk of the nation.

General Vogel dragged along with him the magistrate of Löcse (Leutschau), and several of the wealthiest inhabitants of other towns, without any discrimination of their political opinions. He permitted his soldiers to ill-treat and vex these harmless men, whom he at length released on ransom, only after he had got the tidings of the signal triumphs of the Hungarians. In consequence of these, he turned to Liptó and left Hungary in speed. Benedek had retired with the same haste into Moravia.

As I had nothing more to fear on my road, I returned, in the first days of May, to our estate, freed from the Austrians by their retreat.

I found striking changes on my return. The peacefully conservative spirit of "veneration for property" had been expelled. This guardian angel of right had fled before the intruders; in whose judgment those men and their families, whose principles they intended to blot out with blood, had

no title to life, much less to property. But no rightful claim can be overthrown without sapping the sentiments of right itself by the confusion of old thought and banishment of old associations; after which, wilfulness and anarchy only too naturally follow.

On our estate a *béres** was asked by an Austrian soldier, "to whom the property belonged." The Hungarian servant, in reply, gave our name, but an officer standing by contradicted him, saying, that the estate belonged to the government. The poor *béres*, utterly at a loss to take in the real way of proceeding, fancied that the estate had been sold to some other owner. In consequence, the next time the same question was put, he mentioned as the owner a certain lord, whose name bears great resemblance to the Hungarian word for "government." So little could the poor man seize the notion, that the right of property could possibly be annihilated by those called upon to rule.

Other people however, in different parts of the country, more easily got rid of the *prestige* of laws and law-customs, which the Hungarians in general most steadily revere. As far as I saw, peasants intruded on the possessions of their former lords, only

* A "Béres" is a labourer engaged for the whole year to work on the estate.

when instigated by persons of a higher class, who willingly acted as tools of the enemy.

I found my castle in cellar-like discomfort. Its very atmosphere evinced, that the servants had not believed in the possibility of our return. I seemed to myself as one risen from the dead, whose funeral had already been celebrated, with due regrets towards the departed and condolences towards the successors. My return was certainly greeted with feelings of this strange nature. I soon found out that many trifling house and kitchen utensils had been taken away. When I inquired after any article the answer always was: "the soldiers have taken it." But this was obviously untrue, as the Austrian soldiers certainly did not trouble themselves with loads of such commodities, but rather took watches, silver, and jewels, as I witnessed myself in one of the places where I was on my flight.

I was astonished to see, that servants, whom before I always had found honest and faithful, had so quickly forgotten their duty. The fact was: the people had conceived the notion, that what formerly would have been dishonesty towards their master and mistress, was perfectly excusable as against the government, which seized the property entrusted to them. Of this government they certainly could have no other conception, but that it was the rule of

mere arbitrary violence, as its representatives—the officers and commissaries—showed no reverence for any previous rights. It was not strange therefore, that Communistical notions were thus speedily spread. Certainly example in this respect acquires far more disciples, than all the volumes of Proudhon and Pierre Leroux. My servants thought, that if my furniture was at any rate to be plundered, it was just that they should take it rather than the soldiers, as a *souvenir* of their mistress. When I returned unexpectedly, they were ashamed to confess that they had proved no better than the Austrians, and thought it more comfortable to retain what they had already used for several months.

Still more painfully than by these discoveries, was I struck by the behaviour of those who had yielded up their moral independence to the Austrians. Such as had weakly obeyed the impulse of circumstances, sought, and in part found, excuses in the threats and acts of violence, which in more than one instance had been used; and perhaps we can point out peculiarities of the time and people, which still farther encouraged very dastardly behaviour. The general feeling was decidedly against the Austrians; no one even of those who had publicly frequented and courted them, advocated their cause. And certainly it was no fear of Hungarian terrorism which silenced them now. There is indeed one prominent

feature in the Hungarian character markedly anti-terroristical. That national peculiarity is expressed in the Hungarian by the accurate term of *Táblabiroság*—Squirearchy. Its definition is: the comfortable passive pride of feudal independence, allied to the active desire of influence. From this feeling springs the *camaraderie* with which one squire instinctively backs his equal, even when opposed in principles. This same instinct gives birth to the patronage generally exercised in favour of dependents, who, even when discerned to be unworthy, are by the squire preferred to individuals who do not belong "to his set."

To this Squirearchy, naturally, many petty passions may be traced. But on the other side it occasioned a kind of free-masonry all over the country, where all parties were more or less connected by real or contingent interests. Such relations, no doubt, were a guarantee against terrorism in mutual intercourse, even in times of revolution; in which *Hodie mihi, cras tibi,* cannot fail to impress every mind. In consequence of this easy tolerance, shameless inconsistencies were likewise of frequent occurrence.

One of the subaltern magistrates of our county was a most ludicrous specimen of this kind. Previous to the entrance of the Austrians, he had not only maintained the patriotic injunctions of the

Committee of Defence, but had attempted to interpret and to enforce them in a most fanatical manner. He pretended "that every one, of whatever age or occupation, must join the crusade against the enemy." He yielded to no remonstrance, no argument, even if it was proved, that the men whom he summoned to proceed to the battle-field were exempted from this duty by the decree of the government. Yet when the National Guards of Nograd were ordered to march, he got a certificate of illness for himself, and was seized by a fever, no doubt. I saw myself that he trembled, when the physician, after feeling his pulse, pronounced his indisposition so slight, that in a few days he would be fully able to join the army. But fortunately our magistrate caught cold again.

At the entrance of the Austrians, so ready was he for self-sacrifice, as to spare no trouble or zeal in publishing the proclamation of Windischgrätz. He convoked public meetings, and issued the Austrian manifestos with explanatory notes. Of these one of the most eloquent was the following: "These orders are somewhat different from the injunctions I gave you several weeks ago. But you must strictly comply with the present demands, or I shall have you hanged. The government changed, the county changed, I changed too!"

Subsequently he went to Debreczen and cringed there for an office. But as his way of dealing was known, he was only derided and considered too great a fool to be accused as a traitor.

In the latter half of April, and in May, festive demonstrations in approval of the declaration of separation from Austria were celebrated in all parts of the country. The resolution which the Diet had passed on the 14th of April: "that the House of Hapsburg had forfeited the throne," was generally felt as a necessary consequence of the position, into which the now ruling party in Vienna had *forced* Hungary: for by Count Stadion's new constitution of the Austrian Empire, issued on the 4th March, 1849, in pursuance of the revolutionary Rescript of October 3rd, 1848, the Hungarian constitution and legal independence were destroyed. Everybody knew that the ministry of Batthyányi, no less than the Diet, had sincerely sought every way of conciliation; that at the first entrance of Windischgrätz, it had even proved willing to repeal, with legal forms, the laws sworn to by the King in 1848. But at the same time, when it grew obvious even to the most zealous partisan of the Royal house, that not only the reform of 1848, but the ancient constitutional right of Hungary was attacked by a centralizing Govern-

ment—then, only then the struggle became a war "for independent life or glorious death!" The declaration of the 14th of April was therefore in fact, nothing more than the expression of what every one in Hungary had felt to be "unavoidable," when not only the proposition of the Diet of the 4th of January for a "conditional submission" was answered by Windischgrätz with "no treaty with rebels," and by the imprisonment of Count Batthyányi; but when the Austrian ministry tried to force upon Hungary a theoretic scheme of centralization and absolutism, under constitutional forms, abolishing the municipal institutions, and the self-government of the counties.

There were persons who thought it would have been wiser, not to issue the declaration from Debreczen, but to date it from Pest, only after the Austrians should have been utterly driven from the soil of Hungary. Nevertheless, with the great majority of the nation it was only a question as to the proper time in which such a declaration should be published. The Austrians themselves proved by their devastations, that they considered Hungary a foreign country.

Kossuth's policy in the measure was, to pledge all the important men of Hungary to the nation, as resolved no further to try to make terms with Austria,—without which the people might fear to

be sold by their leaders. From good authority, I know that all the Hungarian Generals agreed to the measure of the 14th of April, when Kossuth proposed it in Hatvan, previous to the battle of Gödöllö. Görgey was present at this conference. Subsequently it was said, that Görgey had expressed himself averse to the declaration after it had been sanctioned by the Diet; but certain it is, that if this had been the cause of his hatred against Kossuth,—as is stated by some Austrian papers,—he would not in May, as Minister of War, have taken the oath that he would "sacredly uphold the decrees of the Diet, and maintain the resolution of the 14th of April."

A festivity, in acknowledgment of this declaration, was likewise to be celebrated in Losoncz. The aim was here, as everywhere, to explain to the people, what events had compelled their representatives to this weighty decision. Most of the patriots loved their country too well not to be aware of its wounds and of its dangers. Therefore the demonstration was wished by the greater number, to be as solemnly simple as would be adequate. But many of the nobility of the county of Nógrád were peculiarly fond of show, and ostentatiously made up the festivity according to their taste. This found but little sympathy, as the roar of cannons still proclaimed the sacrifices falling under

the walls of Buda, defended by General Henzi, who, though a traitor to the Hungarians, now at least acted as a hero sacrificed by the Austrians.

Henzi had been called by Mészáros, the Minister of War, from Cracow to Hungary, where he was entrusted with the command of the fortress of Pétervárad. But at the invasion of Jellachich, it was noticed, that the commander of Pétervárad kept up secret intelligence with the Serbs of Karlowitz. He therefore was summoned in November to Pest to answer for his conduct. Kossuth called on Henzi to justify himself and declare his further intentions, even giving him the choice of leaving Hungary, if he pledged himself not to fight against it. Henzi, who though of Swiss parents in Austrian office, was himself born in Hungary, reiterated his attachment to the country of his birth, and requested to be sent to Szeged, to direct there the fortifications which had been projected at this period. Before the Committee of Defence had decided upon this matter, Windischgrätz approached Pest. The Hungarian Government was transferred to Debreczen, and as it did not carry any hostages with it, and Henzi had not been a condemned prisoner, he was left at Pest, where he joined the Austrians. It seems that Windischgrätz reproached him with his equivocal behaviour, and that to prove his devotion to the Austrian cause, he accepted

the dangerous post of commanding an indefensible fortress. After the departure of the Austrians, as soon as the attacks of the Hungarians began on Buda, he replied by bombarding Pest, from which side he received no provocation. This wanton destruction of the capital greatly embittered the public feeling against him. Not relying in the offers and promises of Görgey, who proposed free departure for the garrison, if the fortress were given up, Henzi defended it to the very last man, and at length fell himself.

The 22nd of May, precisely during the festive demonstration at Losoncz, the news spread, that Buda had been taken by storm before a breach was opened. This tidings was received with ecstasy. No one had expected any other result from Hungarian bravery; nevertheless it made as overpowering an impression, as if it had been unexpected. No enemy remained in the west of Hungary. The capital was free. The gallant Honvéds were extolled as unequalled heroes, and the whole merit of the memorable feat was assigned to them alone, not to Görgey, who was reported to have said, "that if he had been fully aware of what the bravery of the Honvéds could achieve, he could have taken the fortress much sooner than after a siege of seventeen days." Whether the Hungarian leader really said this, I do not

know; but this is certain, that he refused the decoration for bravery, offered to him by the Hungarian Government, saying, that he did not merit it. By many persons this conduct was called "ostentatious modesty;" by others, it was brought into connection with Görgey's aversion to act in concert with Kossuth and the other Hungarian leaders. It was said, that in order to intrigue against Kossuth, Görgey was inclined to cultivate two parties very different in their views, but both, more or less, ready to act against Kossuth. The first of these was the Republican one, headed by Szemere. This party was not numerous, and had, as far as I could observe, least real sympathies in the country. In Kossuth himself it found no sufficient support, and from the very beginning of the movements was rather averse to his tendencies. After the 14th of April, when Kossuth was elected Governor of Hungary, he appointed Szemere prime-minister, who, in his first ministerial speech, avowed his democratical as well as republican tendencies. Kossuth, however, and the other ministers, never expressed themselves for a republic. When pressed on this point by its partisans, Kossuth replied: "that to save the country and its Constitution was the first care, and the only task for the present, that upon the

question as to the ultimate form of Government, the policy of Europe was to decide."

Another fraction, which disliked Kossuth's policy, was designed as the peace-party.* It contained a few of those men who formerly had supported Batthyányi and his conciliating tendencies, but likewise others who had most strongly opposed the first Hungarian ministry, and had often advocated violent measures. They certainly were "Moderados Furiosos," and as little consistent in their politics, as these two terms which characterize them. They criticized Kossuth, but never proposed practical measures of different policy. To this party, which had its representatives in the Diet, but in fact had hardly any adherent out of doors, belonged most of the personal enemies of Kossuth.

I am far from being initiated enough in all the political manœuvring of this period, to venture a judgment upon any party. Thus much however is sure, and proved by all the events and their results,—that since the invasion of Jellachich, every patriot in Hungary, to whatever party he belonged, felt that he must defend the ancient

*This fraction was thus named, because it often expressed itself for conciliation with Austria. But no one of its members ever proposed a mode of realizing such a peace.

rights of his fatherland; and as the Austrians arrested heralds of peace, and refused to treat for anything short of unconditional surrender, *conciliation proved impossible.* Every one followed as a matter of duty and necessity the torrent of the revolution, into which Hungary had been thrown by the Austrian policy. So it was, that whatever were the views and the personal sympathies, all joined in September in the defence of the country; unanimously voting the recruits, and the issue of paper-money. All acquiesced, no less in the armed resistance, which had become obviously necessary to maintain the constitution of the country; nor did any one oppose the declaration of the 14th of April, when it was first proposed and finally voted. But nevertheless, Kossuth had many personal enemies. The "peace party," though silent in the Diet, tried to undermine him in private conferences; and Görgey was the man, claimed by both coteries as theirs, though fully trusted by neither. Previous to the relief of Komárom, a report asserted, that Görgey had received a letter from Austria, with brilliant offers of fortune and position, if he would join the Imperial army. It was said that Görgey had refused, but—had listened. Afterwards, his signal defeats of the Austrians effaced considerably the impressions, which that rumour had made.

After the conquest of Bude, it was as if the whole population of the country had been released from prison. Trade and activity again thronged towards the capital. Troops moved in all directions, and were greeted everywhere with great enthusiasm. The people viewed its own sons with pride and wonder.

Through our neighbourhood moved a detachment of Honvéds, accompanied by several hussars. One of the gentlemen, who had gone from Szécsény to see them, observed, that in this body there were but few hussars. One of these heard the observation and proudly replied: "We always prove sufficient." This warrior, no doubt, belonged to the school of the old Hussar, who instructed a new recruit in fighting and taught him all kinds of cuts. The novitiate said: "But now I should likewise learn how to parry." "This is not necessary," exclaimed the veteran: "strike only, the German will parry; thou need'st but strike!"

In spite of the signal bravery of the Honvéds, which decided most of the battles, the hussars always remained the pride of the people: they ever were considered the type of the national heroism. In Jászberény twelve of them were received by a deputation, accompanied by pretty peasant girls in festive apparel. One of the

girls presented the hussar-sergeant with a nosegay. He took it, and gallantly thanked her, with the assurance, that if the choice had been left to him, to get a hundred ducats from Windischgrätz, or this nosegay from her hand, he would have chosen the latter. "Between four eyes," he said, "I would, pretty girl, still more cordially thank you with a kiss; but in presence of the stately deputation this won't do."

After the re-entrance of the Hungarians at Pest, no one was greeted with so much enthusiasm as the first hussars who appeared in the capital. Covered with flowers, which showered from every window upon them, they accepted this homage with chivalrous dignity. But proud as they were, they readily acknowledged the wonderful feats of the Honvéds. At the storm of Bude one of the hussars, who witnessed it, said to his comrade: "Now I see that the infantry may likewise be good for something." "Yes," replied the other, "for the first time in my life I almost wish to be myself a Baka."*

* The hussars always used to look down upon the soldiers of the infantry and to call them "Baka," which means a man who wears half-boots, not boots.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM PEST TO DEBRECZEN.

For some months I could get no news from my beloved husband, as all regular intercourse with foreign nations was prevented by the Austrians. I made up my mind, therefore, to go to Pest, to attempt again to get the talisman for which my heart yearned—a passport, with which I might safely pass through the Austrian territory.

I entered the capital with anxious feelings: I dreaded to behold the buildings, which I had seen in growing prosperity—destroyed by the fiery balls of Bude. The impression, which I dreaded, proved less painfully striking, than I had anticipated. Only two or three of the rows

of palace-like houses, that border the Danube, and especially the building where the representatives had held their sessions—had suffered in their outward appearance. Most of the damage had been inflicted in the inside, as the shells struck through the roofs. Of the obstinate resistance of Henzi, the shattered walls of the fortress of Bude bore witness.

All the papers which had been forcibly silenced during the presence of the Austrians, now again expressed themselves loudly, when delivered from the jealous control. Many falsehoods were likewise spread by the loquacity which had so long been kept in. This certainly was not only wrong, but totally superfluous; as facts enough had really occurred, which clearly evinced, that nothing had been done by the Austrians to win the public feeling, which they imagined to be in their favour.

One of the stories current at this time was so generally repeated, and stated with such minute details, that I relate it; without vouching, however, for its perfect accuracy.

Mrs. Guyon—the wife of the general of this name—had, as several others of the ladies whose husbands were engaged in the Hungarian struggle, remained quietly in Pest during the sway of Windischgrätz, and had not experienced any molestation. But a short time before the Austrians

were obliged to withdraw from Pest, Mrs. Guyon was summoned by the military court to subscribe a document, with the intimation, that if she did not sign it, she would be detained. Its contents were: "I Baroness Splényi, wife of the rebel Guyon, engage myself to be divorced from the said man." Mrs. Guyon, under this threat, gave her signature; but did not think herself bound to keep a pledge, to which she had been so compelled. She left Pest and joined her husband.

I believe this report to be correct; for since then, another lady, now in the same position as Mrs. Guyon was, can obtain no passport from the Austrian authorities to join her exiled husband; but is daily pressed by them to give her consent to be divorced from him to whom she lawfully belongs; and is threatened, in case of refusal, with the confiscation of her property.

The wife of a deputy, who had accompanied the train, which carried the crown of St. Stephen to Szolnok when Windischgrätz occupied Pest—was called before the court on the charge that she had packed up the crown. This lady was in weak health, and daily expected the birth of her child. She pointed out her physical state, and asked, whether, in this condition, she could possibly have been the most adequate person chosen

for a purpose of this kind. After thus vexing her, they at length accepted her plea.

Austrian officers had occupied the deserted abode of the wife of one of the leaders. The lady herself had never taken any active part in political concerns. She was beautiful; and a successful portrait of her ornamented her room. One of the superior officers pointed it out to his comrades, saying: "Consider it well, that she may be detained when you find her."

The Austrian General Serbelloni however, who for a short time was in Pest, with noble humanity opposed such indignities. If more men of his stamp had adorned the Imperial ranks, fewer lives would have been sacrificed on the scaffold, and more hearts won for Austria. Even the bulletins of the Austrians were framed in a style to embitter the feelings. Many of them were most ludicrous, and fabricated only for export into foreign countries, where the geography of Hungary is little known, and the map is seldom consulted by the great number of readers. Thus the battle of Branyiszko was never mentioned: Klapka's victory at Tokay was converted into a defeat on the Hungarian side; which certainly did not explain, why Schlick, just after the victory, had hastily retreated twenty-five English miles to Boldogkö. At Kápolna, according to the bulletin, the Hunga-

rians were totally routed and Debreczen was threatened. The decisive battle of Isaszeg was styled "a reconnoitring," the retreat to Komárom "a concentration of the army." Relative to the relief of Komárom, it was even asserted: "that the Austrian General had succeeded *in forcing the Hungarian troops into the besieged fortress.*" And all these were *official* statements,—narratives, on the truth of which it was not permitted to doubt. With foreign countries the aim of the Austrian commanders was in part successful: the real facts were long prevented from finding their way over the Hungarian frontiers. It was only after the Austrians had been driven from Pest, that the veracity of their accounts was doubted. The language of the bulletins was as little dignified, and even as brutal, as the dealings of the majority of Austrian officers. The Hungarians were never styled otherwise, than "bands of robbers, rascally people, undisciplined vagabonds." Their commanders "rebel chiefs," their civil leaders, "ill-famed tools of Kossuth;" the Hungarian Diet, "the revolutionary conventicle." This of course, as personal insult, was little heeded by patriots, who gladly offered up life, fortune and position, for the freedom of their fatherland; but in respect to foreign countries, from which the Austrian policy had ever taken good care in its diplomacy

to estrange Hungary as much as possible, this could not be viewed with indifference; so much the less, as the probability of a Russian intervention was already strongly debated. From Debreczen itself, the official notice had been issued to the county authorities, to prepare the people for Russian invasion. Notwithstanding, little credit was given to such an event as really to be expected. In the higher ranks, many founded their incredulity on the *moral* impossibility, as they thought it, that Austria should throw herself upon the protection of her most dangerous rival, and entreat his aid to recover a country, whose frontier touched upon territories in which he already exercised too decided an influence. Russia, who had long been known to agitate in the Danubian principality, by all means at the disposal of unscrupulous absolutism—by money, threats, and intrigues,—Russia, who already commanded the mouth of the Danube,—to be invited by Austria herself to beat down Hungary, her firmest stronghold against Northern ascendancy and despotism,—this seemed incredible. Others trusted that the Hungarian leaders would still advance to Vienna, and there establish a peace, which, even if it imposed hard conditions on the dynasty, yet never could prove so fatal to the Empire, as for its sovereign to become a vassal to Russia. Besides, a general belief reigned

amongst all classes, that France and England never would allow such an intervention, because—as I heard it maintained by men of the people, "if we have settled our own matters without foreign aid, why should a foreigner interfere with them? And if Russia comes to use violence, the other countries will forbid it." Nobody believed that France became at the same time "Republican and Cossack," and that the English aristocracy would allow the only sound aristocracy of the continent to be destroyed by Austrian bureaucratical centralization. Nevertheless, the railing attacks of the Austrian papers, and speculation about a Russian intervention, which yet flitted in the uncertain twilight of doubt and hope, less excited the public interest at that time than retrospect of the behaviour and fate of those, who in the first days of the patriotic struggle had occupied prominent positions. Those who had forsaken their cause, were, on the whole, much less deplored or despised, according to their former merits, than hated. A conquered people hates, a victorious nation pities those, who have betrayed it.

This was the public feeling for Szentkirályi, once a celebrated deputy and influential leader of the liberal party of the county of Pest. He had been feared and popular for his sharp logic, with

which he often cut the knot of intricate reasonings, in which his adversaries entangled themselves. No less had he been known for his habitual absence of mind. Once a friend came in the morning to see him. Szentkirályi requested him to wait but a moment, until he should have fetched his hat from the adjoining room, that then they might go out together. The friend sat down, took up a book, and as Szentkirályi lingered longer than his visitor had expected, he thought, that the hat might have been mislaid, and wished to assist in the search; but when he came to the door he found it locked. At a loss to understand what was going on, he called out for his friend; he rang the bell—in vain. His patience was doomed to a long trial; without dinner, he was imprisoned till late at night, when Szentkirályi returned, and was highly astonished to find a guest, whom he had utterly forgotten, after he had left his room in the morning and had gone upon his daily business.

Previous to March, Szentkirályi had been Sheriff of the county of Pest. By the ministry of Batthyányi he was appointed Comes (Count) of the Iazygs and Kumans, and went at their head, as civil commissary of the Government, against the Serbs. On this occasion he acted most energetically. But he personally hated Kossuth, who, with him, had

been elected representative of the county of Pest for the Diet, in 1847, and who had eclipsed him by the superiority of his genius. From the time that Kossuth became President of the Committee of Defence, Szentkirályi withdrew from politics; and when Windischgrätz entered the capital, the former representative of Pest issued a proclamation against the Committee of Defence; paid homage to Windischgrätz, and thus disavowed the principles for which he had fought. When his countrymen returned to Pest, he fled from his fatherland. He went to Bavaria, and there plunged into the study of medical science. One may doubt whether, with all his talents, he will find out a remedy for the pangs of remembrance.

No one, perhaps, shewed himself so perversely brave in despising shame as Pázmándy—the President of the House of Representatives, and Member of the Committee of Defence. If Grecian poetry had embodied a god of envious ambition, Pázmándy would have been its very model. His delicately slight frame appeared less slight than it was, by the refined haughtiness which pervaded it. The livid colour of his cheek, brightened by the mysterious light which fell from his brilliantly soft eye, reminded one occasionally of a gazelle, at other times of a tiger in repose. His elegantly insinuating manners, his voice mild and glowing like a serpent's

gaudy skin, all this marked him out as a dangerously able man—more dangerous still to himself than to those whom he hated, but never dared to face boldly. And he hated every one superior to himself, be it in station or intellect; and viewed with pale distrust all those who could vie with his talents. He is the man of physical courage, but of moral cowardice; the man, who, for this very reason, prevented the Hungarian army from coming in time to the relief of Vienna, before Windischgrätz had joined Jellachich and Auersperg, and who, at the subsequent battle of Schwechat, purposely exposed himself to the enemy's fire, meddling, though no soldier himself, as volunteer, in out-post skirmishes. Pázmándy had the ambition to be President at the Diet of 1848, and won his post by the influence of Kossuth and of the ministerial party, in opposition to the radicals, who were averse to see as their President the diplomatic courtier of aristocratic principles. According to his nature, he hated Kossuth, but took side with him. The 9th of September he headed the deputation at Schönbrunn, and pronounced, with the thrilling accents of conviction, the memorable speech, which openly expressed, that the court-intrigues with Jellachich would force the Hungarian nation into revolution.

When, at the approach of Windischgrätz, the Hungarian Government proceeded to Debreczen, Pázmándy likewise set out, but turned back again; and a short time after the entrance of the Austrian Commander in the capital, he presented his humble excuse and his devoted homage. This he was said to have reiterated very often to the Prince during frequent visits. It was even asserted, that Pázmándy placed his talents and his advice at the disposal of the then ruling power in Pest. At the departure of the Austrians he did not follow them, and was summoned by the Hungarians to justify his behaviour. For this purpose he was called to Debreczen. He excused himself by the plea of cowardice, and succeeded in proving himself to be, "no traitor but only a coward." The Hungarian Government despised the man who did not disdain such a justification, and granted him perfect liberty. Pázmándy retired to his estates. There, however, he was arrested and detained by the Austrian authorities at their subsequent re-occupation of the country; but he was soon released again. How he extricated himself, I do not know. He certainly had already learnt, by continued exercise of his elasticity, to compromise with the most opposite opinions.

In Pest, I often met the Hungarian General Aulich. His unpresuming sedate countenance

expressed the dignity of real worth: his language had the preciseness of unimpassioned views. Only once did I notice in his accent aroused indignation. It was when the report came, that Colonel Mednyanszky, the Commander of the troops in the fortress of Leopoldstadt, had been hanged by the Austrians. Such barbarity exhibited a marked contrast to the dealings of the Hungarians in a similar case.

Lieutenant Field Marshal Blagoevich and General Zahn, the commanders of Pétervárad, showed themselves willing to surrender the fortress to the Austrians. The garrison arrested them, and remained faithful to the Hungarian cause. When subsequently Perczel relieved Pétervárad, he released Blagoewich and Zahn, and gave them leave to join the Austrians.

But not only in this single instance the Hungarian generosity was sadly responded to by the Austrian rulers. The Hungarians had at that period, as I was told by General Aulich himself, above twenty thousand prisoners of war. Amongst them there were nearly three hundred officers; two generals—Roth and Philippovich—and both the chiefs of the staffs of Jellachich and of Schlick. These gentlemen were only confined to definite places, but by no means to prisons. They were, as of course, allowed to walk about, and many of them even to

retain their swords. While left free to manage for themselves, they were also allowed regular pay.* The Hungarians, on the contrary, who in former times had served in the Imperial army, and now fell into the hands of the Austrians, were hanged, shot, or at least imprisoned with heavy irons by court-martial. The common Honvéds were instantly enrolled in Austrian regiments and sent to Italy. The Honvéd officers, who had not served before in the Austrian army, received eight pence a day. After the published executions and notorious ill-treatment of several of the Hungarian prisoners of war, Görgey sharply protested against such cruelty, unknown to civilized nations, and issued a proclamation to that effect, in which he threatened retaliation. The Austrian commanders little heeded what one of them called "nonsense," saying: "that the Hungarians never would *have the courage* to hang and shoot prisoners."

At that time, Guyon, the brave Irishman, was appointed commander of Komárom; but he declined

* The Austrian prisoners of war received from the Hungarian Government the following amount for their entertainment monthly: a lieutenant, three pounds sterling, a captain four, a major five, a lieutenant-colonel six, a colonel seven, a general eight. Every common soldier had daily twopence, and his portion of bread. Eightpence when employed at labour—at railroads or intrenchments.

the duty, plainly declaring to Kossuth, that nothing could induce him to serve under Görgey, whom he believed to be a traitor; yet, not to occasion any public schism, he refused the offered promotion under the pretext of keeping clear of the cholera, which then raged within the walls of the fortress. The valorous Klapka therefore became its commander.

Highly interested as I was in all that happened, yet I always kept in view my main object—which I incessantly pursued for months, during the most signal transitions of fortune and events—to join my husband. For this purpose, I had, in February, written to my relations residing in Vienna, without result however, as my poor maid had been imprisoned; for this purpose I had inquired and entreated, by means of kind friends at Pest, during the sway of Windischgrätz; but all I then could obtain was the answer: "that a passport to Vienna would be granted, but by no means to a foreign country."

Now I again was in Pest, to see what could be achieved. I soon saw that every communication with Vienna was perfectly impracticable, as the frontiers were strictly guarded. A glance at the map shows how little safe it was to attempt an escape. In the north, where Hungary touches the confines of Galicia, Silesia and Moravia, the Russians were already said to be concentrating;

and still more than Russians, the *cordon* of Galician peasants was to be dreaded by every traveller, as by the licensed massacres of 1846 they had learnt to pursue every one who was no peasant himself. North-west, between the March and the Vág, the main Austrian army stood, opposed to that of the Hungarians. It was no less dangerous to try to pass south-west, through Croatia, thus to reach perhaps Triest, the railway in Illyria, or the Hungarian port of Fiume.* All persons who came from Hungary, of whichever sex, were deemed mutineers or spies, and were tried before court-martial. The journey by Turkey was too long and difficult for me. The only practicable road appeared the frontier between Croatia and the Danube. Even in respect to this way, I could not exactly ascertain the state of things in Pest. I was desirous to know whether, at least from the Hungarian side, free passage be granted. To ensure this, I determined to go to Debreczen, and to inquire myself.

Debreczen is at a hundred and thirty English

* Fiume had politically always belonged immediately to the Hungarian, not to the Croatian territory. It sent its representative to the Hungarian Diet, not to the Provincial Diet of Croatia. The Governor of Fiume had a seat in the Diet at Zágrab (Agram), but only because he likewise was Governor of the Croatian port of Bukkari, and not in his quality of Governor of Fiume.

miles from Pest. This distance is shortened by the railroad, which leads from the capital to Szolnok, about sixty English miles. The very first person by whom I chanced to be accosted, at the railway terminus, was a gentleman coming from Paris: he had heard from my husband, and gave me tranquillizing tidings—the first for three long months.

This was a good omen! Of course I most eagerly examined this gentleman about all the particulars of his journey. He had been perfectly unknown in the places where he was obliged to show his passport, and therefore passed unnoticed.

The aide-de-camp of General Damianics joined us too. The boyish countenance of the young Major was flushed with joyful enthusiasm when we passed the battle-field near Szolnok, where Damianics, the beloved leader, had beaten the Austrians in February. It was the valiant Damianics, himself a Serb, who defeated the rebel Serbs in December at Lagerndorf, and carried the intrenchments of Tomassovátz. A few days after his victory, he was summoned to retire with his victorious troops towards Debreczen. Before he left the southern parts, he issued a most energetic proclamation to his misguided countrymen. He threatened them with utter destruction if they

persevered in their furious career of plunder and murder. His concluding words were: "If you rise again, I shall return and burn down your houses, and put to death yourself and your parents and children; and on the grave of my nation I shall shoot myself, that not one of the cursed race may survive, which breaks its allegiance!"

Such a style of address was necessary with the wild Serbs, who in their religious and political fanaticism, practised unheard-of tortures on their unfortunate prisoners of war. These ferocious hordes had, in the beginning of the struggle with the Hungarians, taken prisoner a young volunteer, a native of the German town of Weisskirchen. The parents of the lad, who were wealthy citizens, sent to the hostile camp the offer of a ransom for their son. On the following day the Serbs sent the son to his parents, but—roasted alive.

Damianics knew how to use that language, which alone could be understood by his infuriated countrymen: but in actual deeds, his own generous nature dictated to him how to deal with his adversaries. After the battle of Szolnok, when the defeated Austrians left considerable booty behind them, Damianics sent after the retreating Imperial officers their private luggage, which had likewise

been captured by his soldiers. The Hungarian General said, that private property, although the enemy's, was to be respected.

The young officer who related to me this circumstance, which he had witnessed himself, sorrowfully deplored the misfortune, that the General, whom in twenty battles no hostile ball had hit—had broken his leg by a fall from his carriage, and thus was disabled for some time from heading his troops. Led by him, they deemed themselves unconquerable; strong enough not only to repel the Austrians, and Russians too if necessary, but to carry their banner wherever it was required. This great popularity was owing, not merely to the bravery of Damianics, though he equalled any of those most noted for personal courage; but he was likewise regarded as a father by his soldiers. Strict in service with his subordinates, he treated all of them perfectly as his equals in daily intercourse. He shared the food, as well as all the interests, of the common soldiers. After the battle, in which he ever was to be seen foremost, he sought and visited the wounded, and attended to them with his own hands. Brave as the bravest, he had the affectionate kind-heartedness of a child; and therefore he was equally looked up to and beloved by all who surrounded him. He was one of the Generals most sincerely attached to Kossuth. When Kos-

suth visited him in Pest, and found him stretched on the couch with his broken leg, the Governor sorrowfully said: "Might I but sacrifice my hand, if thus your foot could be recovered!" Damianics replied, "Better that this cannot be, because I would then redeem your hand with my life."— When Görgey was appointed Minister of War, Kossuth wished to entrust Damianics with the chief command. His fall disabled him for weeks from taking any active part in the struggle, which he had so often decided, and which, under his direction, might have been ended more fortunately for the nation, to whom he had devoted his life of bravery, and for whom he died the death of a martyr. When, after the catastrophe of Vilagos, he was doomed with the other Hungarian generals to the gallows, and his twelve companions were executed before him, as his turn was to be the last, he, still hardly able to stand on his broken leg, but unsubdued by sickness and adversity, said to the Austrian officer with unmoved calmness: "Ever the first in the battle, why am I now to die the last?"

Arrived at Szolnok, I contemplated the Tisza (Theiss); a stream thoroughly Hungarian, not only in its local origin* and course, but likewise in

* The source of the Theiss is on the north-east frontier of Hungary, in the county of Marmaros. At Tokay it leaves its

the striking picture it presents of the Hungarian character. Quiet and smooth in its ordinary state, it powerfully overflows when roused by a storm, or when the awakening sun melts the snow, which, during the wintry sleep has buried the extensive plains all around. The very overflowing of the mighty river fertilizes the soil, rich in yet unexplored treasures. A great number of the battle-fields, celebrated in Hungarian history, are on the banks of the Tisza. It has witnessed the glorious past of the Hungarian nation, bravely struggling through centuries of trials and calamities. I trust, the mighty stream will still see the blessed future of a happy people, whose nationality—sound in its moral elements *of love for freedom, and self-sacrificing patriotism*—cannot be destroyed by foreign bayonets.

Vörösmarty, the great Hungarian poet, about seventy years ago, inspired by patriotic genius, wrote the following

APPEAL.

O Magyár, by thy native land
With faithful heart abide!
Thy cradle first, thy grave at last,
It nurs'd thee, and shall hide.

westward course, and streams southwards through Lower Hungary, where at Titel, not very far from the Turkish frontier, it enters the Danube.

For thee the spacious world affords
As home no other spot,
Here must thou live, and here must die,
Be weal or woe thy lot.

Upon this soil thy fathers' blood
Flow'd to redeem thy claims,
Upon this soil ten centuries
Engrave immortal names.

Here struggled Arpád's gallant crew,
To win our fatherland;
And here the yoke of slavery
Was snapt by Hunyad's hand.

Here freedom's banner, dyed with blood,
Shone proudly from afar;
Here fell the bravest of our brave
In long protracted war.

Yet after many a fateful chance,
And dangers wild and grand,
Still lives diminish'd, but uncrush'd,
A nation in the land.

Father of peoples, mighty World!
From thee it claims repose:
Or life or death is fairly earn'd
By its millennial woes.

It cannot be that all in vain
Have countless tears been shed;
Or vainly for the fatherland
Unnumbered hearts have bled.

It cannot be that strength and wit,
And purpose pure and high,
Crush'd by the weight of endless curse,
Should pine away and die.

There yet will come a better time,
Yes! come it shall, it must,
For which the prayers of myriad lips
Aspire with fervent trust.

Else come there shall, if come it must,
An ever-glorious doom,
Where a whole nation greatly sinks
In a blood-hallow'd tomb.

Then crowding round that nation's grave
The peoples all shall stand,
And millions consecrate the tear,
To mourn the noble land.

O Magyár, to thy country act
A firm and faithful part!
She gives thee strength; and if thou fall,
She hides thee in her heart.

The spacious world doth offer thee
For home no other spot;
Here must thou live, and here must die,
Be weal or woe thy lot.

On my way from the Tisza to Debreczen, I passed through Kardszag, the chief town of great Cumania. The two Cumanias, and Jazygia, are districts which extend from the Danube beyond the

Tisza. These parts are inhabited by a vigorous people, renowned horsemen of Hungarian race, but who did not come with Arpád to Hungary. The Jazygs seem to have been settled in the country, even before its conquest by Arpád; this fact, however, is not quite ascertained. The Cumans immigrated only in the thirteenth century, under the reign of Béla IV. They came from Cumania (at present Moldavia and Wallachia), thus called by themselves; but they derived their own name from the river Kuma in Circassia, from whence they originally had wandered. In Hungary, they enjoyed great privileges; all of them were free from feudal servitude, and had equal political rights. Until the reforms of April 1848, they stood under the immediate command of the Palatine, who bore the title of their Count and Captain. They were, however, considerably oppressed by their bureaucracy, as the Palatine kept exclusively to himself the control over their civil officers, and prevented as much as possible the free development of the municipal institutions, and the activity of the congregations. To the Diet these districts sent one member. Since April 1848, a special Count was appointed to preside over their administration, and every one of their towns had a voice at the Diet. The Jazygs and Cumans are all agriculturists, and the industrial interests in their towns are of little

importance. The Jazygs carefully preserve, as a relic, the ivory drinking-horn of Lehel—the son of one of the companions of Arpád—who, according to the legend, on the battle-field of Merseburg, though already mortally wounded himself, struck down the chief of the Germans with this horn. When the rights of citizenship are conferred in Jazygia, or when any welcome guest is greeted in the town-hall of Jaszberény (the chief place of the Jazygs), this horn, filled with wine, is to be emptied in one breath.

My road likewise led through Szaboszló, one of the seven towns of Hajdus. They, also Hungarians, earned their privileges from Bocskay, Prince of Transylvania, as a recompense for their services, from 1604 to 1606, in his war for religious freedom against Rodolph II. The Hajdus likewise are all free from feudalism. They are wealthy landed-proprietors, and their towns are thriving villages of uncommon extension, and with a most fertile soil. Their national relic is the standard of Bocskay.

The Hajdus, no less than the Cumans and Jazygs, are well known for their patriotism. During the last struggle, several of their communities gave double the number of recruits required from them.

On the unbounded plains, which now appeared endless before me, the phenomenon of the Fata

Morgana not seldom startles the inexperienced wanderer. It does not here, as in the East, astonish by reproducing distant towns, and beautiful scenery, but it habitually presents the aspect of a wide sea, which covers all around.

Over the great plain, from the Danube down to Transylvania, we find everywhere the remains of a wall, and a canal, which, without doubt, were of Roman origin, and marked the Roman frontier, as similar walls in England and Southern Germany. The Romans, and the nations against whom the wall was erected, were forgotten long before the Hungarians took possession of the country. These therefore know nothing of the real origin of the wall; no Roman tradition survived in the plain of the Tisza. But the imagination of the people created a charming legend, in which this wall is connected with the Fata Morgana, so often to be met in those parts.

Csörsz, as the shepherds tell, was the gallant son of the King of the Transylvanian Alps, whose treasures of gold and salt are greater than those of all the kings and princes in the world. Csörsz heard of the celestial beauty of Déli Báb, the daughter of the King of the Southern Sea (*Adriatic*), and his heart was inflamed with love for her. He therefore sent his heralds from his Alps down to the borders of the Adriatic, with loads of the most

costly gifts of salt and gold, and sued for the hand of the lovely Déli Báb. But the proud King of the Sea despised the Kings of the Earth, and said, that he never would grant the daughter of the Sea to the son of the Alps, until he came with a fleet down from his mountains, to convey his bride by water to his palace, as her feet were too delicate to be exposed to the rough stones of the earth. But the heralds, convinced of the power of their king, threw the bridal ring and the presents of gold and salt into the sea, which, from this time, became rich in salt, and having thus sealed the betrothing, returned to their prince. In despair about the desire of the King of the Sea, and ignorant how to comply with his condition, Csörsz called on the devil, and entreated his aid. The devil, without delay, put two buffaloes to his glowing plough, and in a single night dug the canal from Transylvania to the Danube, and from thence down to the sea. Csörsz speedily had a fleet constructed, and joyfully steered down to the Adriatic, to take his bride. Her princely father gave up his daughter with deep regret: however, he was bound by his word, as the new diplomacy was not yet invented, and the pledges of monarchs were still, even in those parts, considered sacred. But the beautiful bride was sorry to leave her cool palace of crystal, her innumerable toys of shells and pearls, and even the

monsters of the sea, who had served her with unbounded devotion. She promised not to forget their home, and often to visit her father and sisters in summer, when the hot sunbeams might prove too intense for her on the dry earth. Csörsz, with festive songs and merry sounds, conveyed his beloved up the canal. Déli Báb was delighted with the mountains, woods, fields, and meadows, which swiftly passed her; she was highly amused with the objects wholly new to her sight. But when by chance she looked backwards, she noticed with terror, that behind the fleet the waters dried up in the canal; and that thus the return to her father's realm became impossible. She never could feel at home in the gold and salt vaults of the Transylvanian mountains, the heavy masses of the Alps depressed her soul; the wintry snow chilled her thoughts; the burning beams of the summer-sun melted her into tears. She never laughed, and always dreamt of her transparent abode in the sea. The love of the princely son of the Alps remained sterile; Déli Báb was childless. She melted away with longing, and was transformed into the Fata Morgana, a dreamy appearance of the sea, which vanishes away as soon as you approach, and which, in Hungary, yet bears the name of the fair Déli Báb. The remains of the devil's canal are still called *Csörsz árka* (the Canal of Csörsz). As for the

fleet, on which he conveyed his bride to his home, since it proved useless in the Alps, he sold it to the Central Government of United Germany, which is asserted to have an affinity with Déli Báb; for which reason also the German Unity, like the Fata Morgana, remains but the shadow of a dream.

No Fata Morgana, but the long shadows of approaching night, surrounded me when I reached the village-like town of Debreczen, which contained the Hungarian Government and Diet; whither also many of those were now flocking, whose principle it was to do homage to success.

I went to a friend of my youth—the wife of one of the Hungarian ministers, who kindly offered me a room, though her abode was by no means spacious, and was hardly sufficient for the modest wants of her own family. She related to me all she had undergone with her husband, whose life had been endangered more than once during the struggle, as he had seldom left the camp, where he had acted as civil commissary.

On the following day, in pursuing my business of the passport, I went to Kossuth, among others, to see whether, by his interference, I might obtain my wish. I found the Governor of Hungary not more splendidly lodged than his ministers. I was struck by the care-worn countenance of the once brilliantly beautiful man. But his manners were

gentle and kind as ever, his accents pure and transparent, so as to give a particular charm to the most common expression. It is impossible to converse with Kossuth, and not to be convinced that nature framed him to influence his nation. But it is not the dazzling brilliancy of his personal attractions which mainly constitute his power over the people. It is his faith in his people,—a faith firm and irresistible, as the glowing conviction of the ancient prophets, who were the impersonation of the religious and political feeling of their nation, and appeared before the throne of the Kings of Israel, as often as these despised the law. The prophets reminded the Kings of their sins, and predicted their punishments; and the people assembled around them, and derived from their words and example the strength of heroic resistance.

CHAPTER IX.

ESCAPE.

When General Welden left Pest the 18th of April, and with the main Austrian army retreated towards Györ, Jellachich, with the wreck of his Croatian army, proceeded on a steam-boat flotilla down the Danube, to protect Croatia, now threatened by Perczel.

Of the sixty-five thousand men, whom the Ban had in September led with adventurous presumption against Pest, eighteen thousand had returned to their country with General Theodorovich, four thousand with Nugent. Jellachich was now marching to the Drave, with no more than about fifteen thousand men. Their comrades had either perished by the Hungarian arms and by sickness,

or had been scattered about Hungary as prisoners of war, far from their family and hearth. But the hardest fate was yet reserved to those, who in this expedition accompanied Jellachich.

They reached Esseg without difficulty. Here the people had accepted with faith the Austrian bulletins, and thus fancied Jellachich to be in reality a great General; they hardly could believe that the severely decimated troops were all that remained of the Croatian army, often represented as so powerful. After a short rest, the Croatian General hastened before Pétervárad, which, from the Sclavonic side was yet bombarded by the Austrian Colonel, Mamula. From hence Jellachich got into communication with Knicsanin, who repelled with energy the attacks of Perczel on the firm position of Titel.

By the junction of the two leaders, the Austrian troops became in these parts superior in number to the Hungarian army of the south. Jellachich was desirous to blockade Pétervárad, and to cut off Perczel from the fortress. He therefore in May repeatedly attacked Neusatz, the town under the very walls of Pétervárad, exposed to the cannons of the fortress. But the valiant commanders of the fortress, General Paul Kiss, and Colonel Hollán, kept up so hot a fire against the Croats, who already had penetrated into the town, that

they were forced to retire. But Neusatz was set in flames, and was turned into a heap of ashes, in the reiterated struggle between the Hungarians and the Croats. In spite of this however, Perczel, being threatened at once by Knicsanin and Jellachich, could no longer hold out in the south of the Bácska. He retreated over the canal, and at Káty received a check from Jellachich. But the Ban was unable to pursue his advantage; the cholera broke out terribly among his soldiers, and swept them frightfully away.

In June, the two hostile armies stood passively opposed to each other, until at last General Vetter was appointed Commander-in-chief of the Hungarian army of the south, and re-assumed the offensive. On the 14th of July, General Guyon, by his orders, attacked the Croats, on the very day which Jellachich had designed for an attack upon the Hungarians. The Ban was totally beaten at Hegyes, fled at first into the Roman intrenchments, and when he saw that even here he would be unable to resist, he once more retired into the mountains of the Fruska. Knicsanin still kept Titel. Pétervárad was relieved the second time, and Croatia trembled anew. But the Russian invasion again compelled the Hungarians to concentrate their forces. Guyon and the nucleus of the southern army were obliged to hasten in

forced marches to the midland counties, and Jellachich was thus once more saved. In the meanwhile, the Austrian General Berger, after a siege of nine months, had surrendered the fortress of Arad, under the condition of a free retreat. This capitulation was effected on the 1st of July; but Temesvár still resisted the Hungarians in the Banat, and Karlburg in Transylvania.

The operations of the army of the south, however, were little heeded by the public. Hardly any notice was taken of the repulse at Káty, or even of the magnificent victory of Hegyes; every one was aware that the fate of the country was not to be decided in those parts. It appeared incomprehensible that nothing was done at the Vág and Danube, and that thus full time was granted to the Austrians to reorganize, and to be joined by the Russians. There were continually skirmishes in the Isle of Schütt, some of them brilliant; for instance, one at Csorna, in which the Austrian General Wyss fell; but they had no general result, and the main positions of the army remained unaltered. The signal victories with which Görgey had advanced from the Tisza to the Danube had awakened new trust in his talent and his fortune. His tarrying was attributed to a profound design; and that, even when he lingered a whole month, after the conquest of Buda. No one ventured a decided

judgment upon the real plan of the Commander-in-chief, even if many opined that he was anxious to be military dictator; so much the less, as he made no secret to his officers of his hatred against Kossuth, and his contempt for all civil government; but nobody suspected his *real design*.

When in the first days of June I returned from Debreczen, where I had been but two days, rumour said that Russians had already appeared at the outskirts of the county of Arva, but had retired again, without any serious attack.

After what I ascertained in Debreczen, I determined to avail myself of an opportunity offered me to accompany an old lady, as a companion, to one of the Bohemian watering-places; there I trusted to get the means of joining my husband, and enabling our darling children, as soon as possible, to escape the scenes of war by which we were surrounded. My arrangements were soon made, and we set out. We luckily passed where the frontier was yet unoccupied by soldiers, and in spite of our Hungarian passport, had little difficulty to get on in Austria. I dare say my old lady looked too respectable, and I too inoffensive, to attract any peculiar notice. Thus we reached our destination without any marked adventure. But there my trials were to begin. I expected there to find a person who was to procure me a passport,

and to accompany me further. She had not arrived, and I had no remedy but patience. But I hardly ventured to step over the threshold, dreading to meet one of my Viennese acquaintances, who, by some exclamation of surprise—for I did not apprehend ill-will—might render it more difficult for me to pass wholly unnoticed. However, one, two, three days elapsed, and no friend arrived. I was reduced to the nervous state of a prisoner, to whom rescue is promised, which tarries for unknown reasons, and brings about all the pangs of uncertainty and longing. I fretted away with expectation and conjectures. At last I found every danger preferable to this miserable suspense; so, one bright sunny morning, I summoned up all my courage, and, as carefully veiled as an oriental damsel, I accompanied my old lady to the well. The hum and buzz of watering-place conversation formed a strong contrast to the subjects of anxious interest so vividly present to my mind. Of course I understood the verbal meaning of every word I now heard; but, nevertheless, the impression of this language had grown so unfamiliar to me, that I felt like one transported into a new realm, where all views seemed utterly opposed to what I had witnessed in the preceding months. I felt this most striking, when Hungary itself, its war, and the Russian invasion chanced to be mentioned. These matters

were discussed amongst other topics, as novels, music, trips in the neighbourhood, and similar amusements. Life and death, the actual existence of millions of human beings, were thus not differently treated from every-day pastimes, with the only distinction, that those first concerns were styled troublesome, and as I heard a young lady assert: "The Russians were a great comfort, as the knout proved the only radical remedy for the impudence of constitutional and revolutionary inclinations." An officer, who probably found such reasoning admirably logical, said: "Certainly, Hungary must be subdued, as he was most desirous to spend a merry carnival in Pest, in the next winter." I only wondered why the young soldier, who treated the struggle with such perfect ease, did not cast his sword into the Austrian scale. He certainly did not look as if great exertions on the battle-field had obliged him to resort to mineral waters.

Much discomfort came over me, when I saw several persons whom I had frequently met in former years. In such an idle place, I was sure, if recognized, to encounter more examination than I cared for, while aiming to get to England as soon as possible.

At last my longed-for friend arrived, but without the required passport. What was to be done? I

saw no way of forwarding my expedition, and therefore submitted—to retreat. But my poor friend, fearing by a sudden departure to expose herself to the curiosity and distrust so easily awakened in a gossiping circle, was doomed to stay, and to undergo a regular cure of bathing and drinking. It was impossible for her to escape this hard fate, as the official Æsculapius, the despot of all those who come within the compass of his realm, had got hold of her.

I retraced my steps disguised as her servant. When, however, I arrived again at the frontier, it was already occupied by Austrian soldiers, and free passage was prohibited. My lady, no less than I, and our luggage, had to sustain severe examination. My supposed mistress was taken up to a room, where some other travellers underwent the same process, to which we ourselves were subjected, only that, thanks to my lady's presence of mind, we were more courteously treated. The other sufferers were obliged to empty their pockets, and every trifle belonging to their dress or luggage, was submitted to the strictest censure. This even extended to their money. In the pocket-book of a gentleman £20 sterling in Austrian bank notes were found; the officiating under-police-officer addressed his superior with the question: "Is that not too much for one person?" My lady had no difficulty to

understand this question, necessarily incomprehensible to any one not initiated in the practice of the Austrian court-martial police exerted on more than one unfortunate traveller. I know of several merchants, who in that period went from Pest to Vienna with the amount of six to eight thousand pounds, designed for payments. At the Austrian frontier these gentlemen were detained, and their money was taken into custody. The cause alleged for this violent proceeding was, that, though the passports were regular, the money might possibly be carried for some hidden aim. Whether the money was finally returned or not, is unknown to me.

My lady, anxious for her purse, which contained £20, tried the experiment of boldness. She daringly offered the bag she carried on her arm to the captain who attended her, and said, "Please to examine!" The officer, with a gentleman's courtesy declined to accept it, replying, "This is superfluous. Madam, I am sorry enough to be compelled to the duties of a policeman."

Whilst my mistress was manœuvring so well upstairs, I was surrounded below in the court by some ten soldiers employed to the examination of our luggage. I had a good conscience, that everything which we had with us was wholly inoffensive, even if exposed to the examination of a

court-martial, and therefore willingly exposed every object to searching scrutiny, and could not help laughing at the patience-trying pains, with which the soldiers' hands, unaccustomed to such nice service, unfolded and folded up again every handkerchief, and every glove; but not before the paper in which the articles were wrapped up had been exposed to the rays of the sun, to ascertain that no treacherous ink was hidden under the seeming grey, or the printed lines of the blotting-paper.

This operation lasted a good many hours. At last I was dismissed as not suspected, and hastened up the staircase to communicate the good tidings. I met one of the officers, who addressed me, asking from whence we came, and why we returned to the troubled country? I answered, that Hungary was our home. The officer entered upon the causes of the war, and said, that, in fact, all the mischief came from the ladies, who alone governed Hungary. I assured him, that this was perfect news to me. "Yes," continued the officer, "one Hungarian lady has ventured as often as fifteen times, under the most various disguises, to pass through our camp with despatches she carried to the Hungarian Chief; yet we have not arrested her." I expressed my astonishment at this unusual courtesy, and after my return home inquired as to the ground for this strange story. I heard,

that a lady really had hazarded herself twice to take messages to the Hungarian army. Once she succeeded in her adventurous enterprize, but the second time she was taken prisoner, and conveyed *in chains* to Buda, where the Austrians, most fortunately for her, forgot her in the prison, when in April they retreated from Pest.

Reunited to my sweet children, for the moment I easily consoled myself for the failure of my expedition, but determined to try again as soon as an opportunity could be found.

All was disorder now in the country around u from the entrance of the Russians in the northern counties. Eperjes and Kassa were already occupied. The Grand-Duke Constantine himself was said to have addressed speeches to the Hungarian population, in which he assured them, that the Russians came as friends of the Hungarians; he did not mention the Austrians at all. The Russians, from the very beginning of this invasion, behaved on the whole with much more regard for the inhabitants, than the Austrians. It was obvious, that the former courted the sympathies, which the latter had spurned.

Several outpost engagements took place against the new invaders, in which the Hungarians had some advantage, and their guerillas carried off a good number of Russian horses and caparisons.

But this was the whole result of the resistance, which alone the small corps, under the brave Pole Visozki and General Aristides Dessewffy, could offer at the time to the much superior forces of the enemy, who soon entered Miskolcz, and under the prevailing circumstances could not be expected to be long kept off from Pest.

I then saw that escape would soon become utterly impossible, and therefore again set out to Pest to convince myself of what I might yet hazard. In the first days of July, I found Pest in great consternation. The Hungarian Government had again abandoned the capital, because, as it was said, Görgey had decidedly refused to act according to the premeditated plan, by which, as the public asserted, Pest might still have held out. Upon this a widely spreading gloom—the common forerunner of great calamities—oppressed the citizens of Pest. This was dispelled for a moment, when Kossuth's reappearance, two days after the Government had left, electrified old and young. The general bitterness against Görgey increased: he was loudly called a traitor, who was only waiting for a favourable moment to compel his army to capitulate, for the sake of his own personal views, and to satisfy his ambition and hatred. Kossuth was reproached with weakness, for not having long ago brought Görgey before a Court-martial. It was

denied that Görgey's own army—as many had maintained—would have opposed such a measure; because, although the General had ever powerfully worked upon a great part of his officers, yet the common soldiers—the alone unequalled heroes of the day,—were sons of the people, upon whom Kossuth's influence ever remained unquestioned.

Every one, at this time, felt the heaviness of the approaching storm. The nation, which had proved unconquerable by the number and superior tactics of the once illustrious Imperial Armies,—which had so valiantly defended its ancient rights, and hereby proved itself worthy of them, this nation was now to be forcibly crushed by the material forces of northern despotism. And Constitutional Europe, even Republican France, had no veto against illegal violence, which replied to every lawful claim by the gallows. This was felt with extreme bitterness. The most intense of human passions—wounded patriotism,—was gnawing men's hearts. The pressure of material power from without seemed, at this moment, overwhelming. The public feeling was repressed; but for this very reason not less condensed than the threatening danger.

My private position was in full accordance with the public state of things. Far from him for whom I longed, surrounded by difficulties, I saw the moment speedily approach, which would cut off

all possibility of moving in any direction. I had no alternative but to leave my poor little darlings during events of danger, if I would not passively submit to renounce, possibly for years, every chance of seeing myself and our children reunited to my husband. My inclinations and my duties were fully concordant. I weighed them therefore, and the probabilities of success, against the risks which were to be undergone. I then prepared without further speculation, and with firm trust in Him, who blesses a wife's and a mother's heart with the strength of love.

I had found out an old German gentleman with his young wife, who longed to escape the troubles of a land in which they had no concern, and who, therefore, were anxious to return to their country. I did not personally know this couple; only from the above-mentioned circumstances I was aware, that they were provided with a passport from their own government, and therefore would probably be allowed to pass into Austria unmolested. I thought, if I could go with them as a subordinate appendage, I should meet with little difficulties on the passage. I therefore presented myself to them with my request, and they, unaware of my real situation or name, accepted my companionship. Thus I set out again with utter strangers, unacquainted with their views and feelings for the country, in whose cause I was so

deeply interested. Certainly, the manner in which we proceeded seemed little suited to an escape. The large trunks and numberless parcels included even wine and other victuals, which my German carried with as anxious foresight as if we were to travel across some desert. The post-carriage, which we had to change on every station, was over-filled. Thus the speed, for which I peculiarly longed on this journey, was considerably slackened. The German, however, had no taste for a courier's pace, and multiplied the delays in most various ways. One time it was for some statistical information that he tarried; another time, it was to inquire about some acquaintance in the neighbourhood of our road. But much oftener than either, our time and his lungs and temper were tried in altercations with the post-masters or the peasants, from whom we had to hire our conveyances. This great business never was settled without confronting all the drivers, who could possibly be summoned in the town or village where we stopped, and the fare was never promised without long debates. These matters grew still more complicated in certain parts of the country, which were already occupied by the Austrians. Here the people was averse to accept the Hungarian bank notes at par. To submit to such loss was a bitter task for our German gentleman; the more so, as at the first station he had lost his pocket-book

with money. When we had to change horses the second time, we could get no coach, but only a car with racks. Unaccustomed to such accommodation, our good gentleman had so much to do in keeping his own balance, that his stick, umbrella, and gloves, one after the other, slipt through the racks; nor did he succeed in recovering one of these articles. The gentleman's temper, indeed, was not easily disturbed; but the wife protested that he actually would lose one of his limbs on the way, which by no means seemed improbable, as he often fell asleep, and did not sufficiently provide against the shocks, which the uncomfortable cars, jerked over the inequalities of the road, often occasioned. This we never experienced more thoroughly, than one day, when from noon till midnight, in an open vehicle, we were exposed to the burning rays of the sun and soon after, to a splashing rain. The poor worn out horses hardly dragged us along; we gave them a little rest in the covert of a wretched inn, but were soon obliged to proceed, as the more and more darkening sky reminded us, that still many a mile lay between us and the accommodation pointed out to us, as our only possible resting place for the night. Therefore we rattled on. But soon blinded by a stormy wind, and the rivulets streaming down from our parasols, and from the broken um-

brella of the owner of the horses, we gave ourselves up to the decrees of fate with the stoicism of helplessness. Night had already come on, when we found out, that our equipage, no less than we ourselves, was so completely drenched, that we could do nothing but resort to the very first shelter, whatever it might be. Fortunately it was the cottage of a Hungarian peasant, who received us with the usual hospitality. The German gentleman and his wife, being unacquainted with the Hungarian language, I officiated as interpreter. The good peasant and his wife offered us their own room, but as it was harvest-time, the small space was so crowded, containing likewise several labourers, that we declined the kindness, and preferred to encamp in the barn, where the fragrant hay, highly heaped up, granted comfortable couches. To rest the over-tired horses, which had undergone such hard work, the good people drove their own cows from the stable, as it was not large enough to contain both cows and horses.

Such ready hospitality grew more rare, the nearer we came to the frontier, which was threatened and partly occupied by the enemy. In these parts anxiety and distress were so prevalent, that it was not without marked difficulty that we got horses. Every one feared that we should fall-in

with troops, who, without ceremony, would appropriate the horses to their own use. Thus we advanced so slowly, that we took a whole week for a distance, which, under regular circumstances, might have been traversed in thirty hours. At last we reached the place on the frontier, where the passport was to be examined; no objection was made, except that it was necessary to have it signed by one of the superior officers, and that for this purpose we must proceed to one of the larger towns, which was at a short day's journey. I submitted with reluctance, because I had been in that town before, and had there a good number of acquaintances; yet I faced what I could not avoid, and we set forth. As soon as we arrived at our destination, the first care of the gentleman was to go to the military commander, and entreat to be dispatched as soon as possible. But the answer was, that in spite of the perfect regularity of his papers, we could not be allowed to proceed, as passage was now granted only by special exemption. Representations, entreaties, all proved fruitless. Day after day passed, the purse of the gentleman grew leaner and hopes fainter. I seldom went out. I suffered the tortures of loneliness, with no certainty to fall back upon. If recognized as the wife of a Hungarian, who had been implicated in

the cause of his country, I had no notion what would become of me. Conscious as I was of the perfect lawfulness of all I had attempted, I yet had experienced too much of the arbitrary measures of military authorities, not to be prepared for everything. At last our gentleman again ventured an attack on the ruling officer, with the question: "How long we were to be detained?" "As long as the war lasts," was the consolatory answer. When the gentleman returned crestfallen with this disheartening message, I took the liberty to observe, that, if they chose to keep us, it certainly would be just to have the expenses of our unwilling stay paid for us, as we easily could prove, that our means would not hold out very long against the expenses of the hotel. Armed with this argument our protector again tried his eloquence, and as he peculiarly insisted upon pecuniary embarrassment, and the necessity of supply if longer detained, he gained the point. After ten days' delay, we were free to go, and even the German gentleman was perfectly changed in respect to his lingering inclinations. We enjoyed no sights of any kind on Austrian territory, and only rested, when forcibly detained by passport examinations and difficulties, which we still had, more than once, to undergo, before we reached

Prussian ground. Here I breathed a little more freely, and listened to railroad conversations, of which the events in Hungary often formed the topic. I had not seldom the satisfaction to hear the loud praises of the people, which, after all I had witnessed, so eminently deserved such acknowledgment.

We now travelled like trunks, day and night shut up in the railroad carriages. I had enough to remember, and to look forward to, not to mind present inconvenience. My good-natured gentleman, as soon as we had got rid of the tedium of examination, had recovered his habitual elasticity of mind, and the whole comfort of his cheerful temper. The railway regulations not permitting long delays, he at least had the gratification of getting down at every station—which in Germany succeed one another about every thirty minutes' distance—to relish everywhere one or other of the delicacies, which, during the first part of our journey, had seldom been offered by the village inns. I heartily thanked the amiable couple, who had been very kind to me, and to whom I was, after the result of my attempt, more indebted than they themselves were aware of at the time. From the very first, I had engaged myself to accompany them only as far as Belgium: from thence I had to proceed

alone to the blessed country, where it has been long ago recognized, that passports are an invention to worry the harmless traveller, and by no means to prevent the escape of one who wishes to evade the scrutiny of the police. But before I touched the ground of hospitable freedom, I had yet a disagreeable passage, in a dark night. I was the only female on board of an uncomely steam-boat. The first English captain I saw—rough-featured, with a rough voice and rough manners, red-faced, and especially red-nosed—who, when I inquired for some refreshment, offered me a glass of grog—answered so little to the picture I had formed of a gallant mariner, that I was quite startled. This impression was by no means softened by the appearance of two or three passengers, who, besides me, alone were on board. They all looked anything rather than gentlemanlike, and yet had none of the attractions of Mr. Pickwick's faithful Sam Weller, which, to a certain degree, might have made up for the lack of more refined accomplishments. I was highly disappointed, and almost fancied that I had got into a wrong vessel, which would take me to some barbarous coast. My only consolation was, that no provisions were visible, and that therefore no long journey could be intended. I retreated to the ladies' cabin, locked my door, and soon

was lulled to sleep. I awoke at Dover, where I giddily stepped into the unsteady boat, which took us ashore. Here we directly were surrounded by the intrusively pressing hotel-keepers, who hardly gave me time to see my luggage safely delivered. I hastened to the railway terminus, and soon started. I found myself alone in the carriage with a kind and genteel looking old gentleman, whose agreeable countenance soon dispelled the unpleasant impression of the uncongenial physiognomies, in which I had not recognized a single feature of John Bull, who had always appeared to my imagination the very picture of kind-hearted sincerity and practical good sense.

At ten o'clock the capital of the civilized world lay before me. But I had no eye for its grandeur, no mind for its mighty interests; my heart was turned to one small house, for which I anxiously looked out from the windows of the carriage, very much afraid that the cabman might mistake the street or the number.

Reunited to my beloved husband, our main care, of course, was to regain our dear children. This was no easy task. Though our eldest was but three, the youngest a babe of seven months, no

passport was granted for them; and Austrian newspapers even asserted that they had been recognized, and arrested on the road. This proved untrue. The poor children of Kossuth had been detained; ours escaped the inquiries of the Austrian Government.

Thanks to the Almighty bounty, that blessed the exertions of unequalled friends, our darlings joined us two months after my arrival.

CHAPTER X.

THE CATASTROPHE.

WHILST I fortunately achieved my escape, the catastrophe of the great tragedy in Hungary came on, in a sudden and terrible manner. In this struggle every thing, from the very first moment, had taken another turn than the men of prudence had calculated upon. The fall of Metternich, the concessions in April, the invasion of Jellachich and his defeat, the Viennese revolution and its issue, the easy advance of Windischgrätz and the unbloody capture of Pest, the unparalleled defeats of the Austrians; all this lay out of the reach of all computation. Western Europe had long forgotten the power which the genius of a single man can exert, when this man represents the

ideas and prejudices, the virtues and errors of his nation, and in consequence of this possesses the full trust of the people. But the catastrophe of the Hungarian struggle was still more unexpected and less comprehensible than its beginning.

It seems that Görgey anticipated, during the whole months of May and June, that either Kossuth, and the Hungarian Government, or the Austrian cabinet would make conciliatory proposals. Many of Görgey's friends, who formerly had served in the Austrian army, nourished the same hope. They still considered the Austrian officers as brethren in arms, in spite of their position in the opposed ranks, and imagined that negotiations of peace could not fail to be taken up soon; so much the more, as the hardest conditions for the Austrians in this case, could not prove so disadvantageous to them, as to become dependent on Russia. Besides the Russian aid—of which the Austrian papers spoke so loudly—tarried so long, that not only the officers of Görgey, but even those persons, to whom the ever-yielding policy of England and France, in respect to Russia, was not unknown, were ready to believe that the Governments of the West had, by an energetic protestation, prevented the Russian intervention; and that all Eastern Europe could not willingly submit to

Russian "protection." Görgey, therefore, instead of complying with the reiterated order of the Hungarian Government to advance and to march against Vienna, purposely lingered at the Vág. The Russians concentrated their forces. The Austrian army, swelled by recruits and restored by a repose of two months, received a new commander, Lieutenant-Field-Marshal Haynau, only too notorious by the slaughter of Brescia. He prepared to act offensively. Görgey saw at last what precious weeks he had lost; he now, in presence of the Austrians and Russians, who were ready to meet him, attempted what he had neglected to do in time. The 19th of June he attacked the enemy at the Vág; the battle proved bloody and was renewed on the 21st. The Austrians began to retreat, but the Russian reserve, under General Paniutin, resisted the impetus of the Hungarians who, the first time for months, were obliged to retire without victory. After this battle both armies crossed the Danube, and Görgey was at Györ (Raab), again compelled to draw back. He retired to the walls of Komárom, and with sarcastic complacency gave notice to the Government at Pest, that it must speedily leave the capital, as he was unable to cover it. Kossuth immediately sent him the order to hasten on the north bank of the Danube to Pest, to join

here the corps of Dembinsky, Dessewffy and Visozki, and thus to meet the main body of the Russians, under Paskievits, Prince of Warsaw. The Prince had slowly advanced to Miskolez, by Dukla, Eperjes, and Kassa. Visozki and Dessewffy could offer him but little resistance in the county of Sáros; yet, united to Görgey, a battle might have been accepted with chances of victory; and the tidings of such an advantage over Paskievits, would most probably have demoralized the army of Haynau. But Görgey was unwilling to fight the Russians. He also was averse to join the other Hungarian corps; he chose to be at the head of a smaller army, of which he knew that almost every officer thoroughly trusted him, even in case of his opposition to the Government, rather than to command the united Hungarian troops. He was well aware, that in the great army, he would find the subordination due to the leader, but by no means blind reliance. Görgey did not obey the orders of the Government. He played over again the part, which in January had succeeded with him so well; he again broke off all intercourse with the Government. If Kossuth had then gone to the army at Komárom, his popularity amongst the great bulk of the soldiers would have rendered it possible—

in spite of the officers' adherence to Görgey and the intrigues carried on against the 'Civilians', to depose the General, and arrest him before the very eyes of his troops. But Kossuth shrank from such a step. He was aware of Görgey's talents, no less of his hatred against all superiority; but he did not deem it possible, that this hatred could blind a brave soldier so far, as to induce him heedlessly to betray his country, his friends, and his honour, with the sole aim to envelope in the general destruction those whom he hated. However, when the letters addressed by Csányi* to Görgey, in the latter half of June, proved perfectly without result, and the Hungarian leader made no preparation to move from his position at Komárom, Kossuth at last deposed him, and appointed Dembinsky and Mészáros in his stead. Mészáros had, in respect to military success, no credit with the army. Every one highly esteemed his upright and perfectly honourable character, but on the battle-field he had decided misfortune. As to Dembinski, the officers of Görgey had peculiarly disliked him, ever since the battle of Kápolna;

* Csányi had, as civil commissary, accompanied Görgey on his first march from Pressburg to Pest, from Pest by Upper Hungary, to Kapolna and to the Tisza, and was the personal friend of the general.

besides, he was not thought sufficiently energetic, and, therefore, likewise often was called: "the old gentleman." But at the time there was no other general, whom the Government could have sent to replace Görgey. Bem was too necessary in Transylvania, where he had to resist the Russian invasion. Damianics had broken his leg. Klapka was a friend of Görgey, and Perczel was not considered adequate to be the Commander-in-Chief of the whole army.

The 2nd of July, Mészaros and Dembinski, on their way to Komárom, heard the reports of cannons. The Austrians were storming the intrenchments which the Hungarians had erected on the south bank of the Danube. Görgey, who at this moment certainly had still more to struggle against within himself, than from the enemy, obviously sought death. In his red Hungarian coat, a white feather on his hat, he threw himself into the very midst of the combat. He was wounded in the fray by a cut with a sabre, but the balls seemed to avoid the General, whilst they decimated those who surrounded him. The heroic calmness which he evinced, won him again the hearts of his soldiers. The Austrians and Russians vainly attempted to storm the intrenchments; their repeated attacks were always repelled, the Hungarians remained victorious. And

when in the evening they returned from the battle-field to their head-quarter, they received the news, that their valiant General was deposed, and that Mészáros, on whom fortune never had smiled, and the Pole Dembinski were to replace their admired chief.

These tidings naturally created feelings of bitterness with the victorious troops, and they so much more slighted the 'Civilian' Government, as the two Generals, when they heard of the victory, did not even come to the camp, but returned to Kossuth. To depose a successful general in the day of a victory, appeared to every military man unwise and unjust, and Mészaros, the man of loyalty, considered the victory itself as a token, that Görgey did not intend treachery. The Russians, however, approached from Miskolcz, notwithstanding the cholera, which raged in their ranks. Kossuth and the Government were obliged to leave Pest, and proceeded to Szeged (Szegedin), where a considerable army was to be concentrated under Dembinski, Visozki, Dessewffy, Guyon, Perczel and Kmetty, who all expected Görgey and his troops, amongst which were some of the bravest battalions in the whole army.

In Komárom, after the battle, a council of war was held on the 4th of July, in which the friends of Görgey proposed a declaration on the part of

the officers, that they would serve under no other chief-command, but that of Görgey. The Council of War, after having accepted this proposal, set down the plan of the campaign. Klapka urged Görgey to hasten by the north bank of the Danube, in forced marches to Pest, to join there the other corps, before the Russians could arrive. But Görgey, who had already settled in his mind to isolate his army, and to continue the war or the negotiations, on his own authority, proposed to break through the Austrian army on the south bank, to use the resources of the districts on that side, which had as yet suffered little by the war, and according to circumstances, either to threaten the Austrian frontier, or to join the Hungarian army, which operated between the Danube and the Tisza. Klapka, on the contrary, supported his own plan, as more easily to be achieved, and more decisive for the deliverance of the country. But Görgey gave his opinion, that it "certainly was more comfortable to advance on the north bank, where no enemy was to be met with, and that, whoever shunned battle, was quite right to defend this opinion." In consequence the plan of Görgey naturally was adopted, and Klapka offered to take charge of the command during the operation, Görgey himself being still disabled by his wound.

The 10th of July the Hungarians attacked;

the battle lasted until the evening: it was one of the bloodiest. The Austrians already gave way, but the Russian reserve of Paniutin restrained the impetuosity of the Honvéds; the operation did not prove successful.

No longer was any pretext for delay left to Görgey. He left Klapka in Komárom, and hastened eastward on the north bank. His troops believed that he was leading them to join the army of Dembinski, notwithstanding that the Russians had, without a single combat, taken possession of Vácz and Pest. None of the soldiers had a notion, that already since the 2nd of July the Russian diplomatists were apprized of Görgey's negotiations with Paskiewits, relative to his capitulation.* It seems, that Görgey considered the battle of the 2nd of July as an ordeal; as in this he did not find the death he sought, he was strengthened in his purpose to end the struggle by unconditional surrender.

His retreat seemed in the outset favoured by fortune. He beat the Russians, who opposed him at Vacz; then turned to Vadkert and Losoncz, pursued by the Generals Grabbe and Sasz, whom he succeeded in avoiding by clever movements; but instead of directing himself towards the army of

* See the Dispatch of Prince Wittgenstein in the Appendix.

Dembinski on the nearest road left open to him, he manœuvred within the compass occupied by the various Russian corps; marched first to the Upper Tisza, to Tokaj, and then slowly towards the Maros. He did not hasten to Debreczen for the support of the army of Nagy Sándor, who had covered Görgey's retreat at Vacz, where he had had to keep in check the whole Russian army. But Görgey did not choose to assist Nagy Sándor, who once had openly declared: "that if ever in Hungary a Cæsar were to usurp military dictatorship, he himself would not fail to act as a Brutus."

In the meantime Haynau had pressed hard on the corps of Dembinski and Dessewffy who in the middle of July repaired to Szeged, where the Diet had assembled, and the fraction styled the peace-party, intrigued with less restraint against Kossuth and for the dictatorship of Görgey. Görgey was considered by the greater part of the public, perhaps erroneously, as the cleverest of the generals. The intriguers knew him as a man without steady principles, who would more readily be induced to conciliation, or unconditional surrender, than Kossuth, with whom Austria never would negotiate.

The Diet in Szeged took some steps in respect to the Wallachs and Serbs, and published general amnesty for them. But the government could not

stay long in Szeged, which the generals determined to give up. They had been attacked and defeated by Haynau at Szöreg, and retired towards Temesvár; the Government, hereupon, went to Arad. No one could understand the movements of Dembinski. Arad, the Hungarian fortress, seemed adequate to offer a safe point of resistance, until the army of Görgey, which already approached, should come; whilst Temesvár, though severely besieged by the Hungarian General Count Vécsey, still was in Austrian hands, and therefore could not offer the same resource as Arad.

In the same period a desperate struggle was going on in Transylvania. Bem from all sides surrounded by Russian numerical superiority, proved successful in brilliant combats, nevertheless he was more and more forcibly repressed. Neither in the southern nor in the northern land of the Saxons could the Hungarians resist; but drew closer up to the Hungarian frontier.

Kossuth now summoned Bem to the army of Lower Hungary. Immediately on the arrival of that General, he assumed the command and ordered the attack. On the morning of the 9th, the battle of Temesvár took place. Till half-past four in the afternoon Bem, who pressed forward personally with his left wing and chief force of artillery, drove the enemy from position to position.

The last reserves of Austrian and Russian cavalry charged to retrieve the day. They were beaten back by the Hussars. At this time the battle was thought to have been won, and Haynau, it is stated, had fled and was seven miles from the field, when suddenly Bem's cannon ceased. His ammunition was exhausted. Lichtenstein hereupon pressed the Hungarian right wing, mainly consisting of recruits, who had never yet been engaged, and who, on the death of their commander, retired in disorder. Meanwhile Bem had fallen with his horse and broken his collar-bone, and his left wing, now unsupported by artillery, was forced also to retire. Guyon with his hussars now charged the enemies' artillery; but men and horses having been for four-and-twenty hours without food or forage, failed in his attempt. Night came on, and the Hungarians retreated from the field unpursued. But though unpursued, in passing through a forest towards midnight, sudden panic seized them and they dispersed in all directions. It required the failure of Bem's ammunition, his personal accident, the death of the commander of the raw levies, the fact of the Hungarians having been four-and-twenty hours without food, and lastly, the presence of mind of Lichtenstein to prevent the Hungarian army from winning a battle where not to conquer was to suffer a defeat. But so severely had the

Austrians and Russians been handled, that several days after nearly the whole of this army unpursued, were permitted to rally again in the direction of Lugos with nearly all their guns.

When Kossuth received the tidings of this defeat, Görgey with his troops had just arrived at Arad. He had on reaching the Tisza written to Kossuth, that he wanted money and ammunition. Kossuth set out to meet him, but did not find him. At that time reports were spread, that the Russians were disposed to guarantee to the Hungarians the Constitution of 1848, and to raise the Grand Duke Constantine to the throne of Hungary. Even Kossuth had sent the ministers Szemere and Casimir Batthyányi, to the Russian camp, but these gentlemen were soon convinced of the emptiness of all these assertions.

Görgey, who favoured these reports, now asked the Governor, whether he thought it possible, alone to save the country. When Kossuth replied: "that he now could not do it, unsupported by Görgey," the General declared: "that he could and would save Hungary, but only if Kossuth directly resigned, and had him appointed Dictator. Kossuth assembled his ministers. Szemere and Duschek were not present, Csányi, Vukovics and General Aulich voted for Görgey. Kossuth resigned his post as Governor, and issued a

proclamation, conferring the highest power upon Görgey, and imposing upon the new Dictator the responsibility of using his power solely to the safety of the country.

But whilst in the South-east the cause of Hungary was given up by Görgey, Klapka fought the Austrians in a successful sally from Komárom. On the 3rd and the 5th of August, the gallant General sallied forth from the fortress, captured the convoy of the Austrian and Russian army, and dispersed the beleaguering corps of General Csorich, notwithstanding the numerical superiority of the Austrians. The stroke was so unexpected that the fleeing troops rallied only in Posony. Klapka occupied Györ, and began to reinforce his army by recruits, and to threaten the Austrian frontier. The basis of operation of the main Austrian army was interrupted, its line of retreat cut off, and any advantage over Haynau might have occasioned the total destruction of his army.

But Görgey was averse to any longer struggle. He first sent away the general levy, then assembled the superior officers, and declared that the position of Hungary was desperate; that nothing but speedy submission could re-establish peace and save the country; besides, he was not will-

ing to surrender to the Austrians, but to the Russians, who during the whole campaign, had acted as honorable enemies; that a general amnesty would be granted, and if nevertheless a sacrifice must fall in expiation of the war, he would offer himself willingly as the victim.

Every one in the army of Görgey knew, that negotiations had been going on already for a long time between the General and the Russians; and so firm was the trust the officers placed in him, so artfully had he known how to secure their confidence, that there was not one amongst them, who insisted upon learning the conditions on which they were to surrender, and the guarantees for the fulfilment of the conditions. Görgey sent the Counts Eszterházy, Bethlen, and Schmidegg to the Russian General Rüdiger with a letter, saying: "that the main Hungarian army was willing to surrender unconditionally." Rüdiger came to Világos, where Görgey, on the 13th of August, surrendered with 24,000 men picked troops, and an immense park of artillery. The Hussars and Honvéds understood nothing about the negotiation; they were told by the officers that the Russians would return them their arms, and would in conjunction with them, march against the Austrians, as the Russian Grand Duke Con-

stantine would be King of Hungary. The officers had no intention to deceive the soldiers; they themselves believed the insinuations of Görgey.

Notwithstanding that this General had negotiated already for many weeks, this sudden surrender proved unexpected to the Russians themselves. They received the Hungarian officers with marked cordiality; they left them their swords, and entertained them splendidly. The Russian General Rüdiger frequently invited Görgey, Kiss and the other generals to dinner. He sat next to them, and treated them as brethren in arms and as heroes, whilst he placed the Austrian officers, who chanced to come to the Russian army, at the lower end of his table.

The tidings of Görgey's surrender, of secret conditions, and the excellent treatment of the Hungarian officers, spread with the utmost rapidity. The other generals, to whom Görgey had written, summoning them to follow his example, trusted in his deceiving expressions, and laid down arms one after the other. The first of them was Damianics at Arad, where he commanded the fortress, and still was confined to his couch in consequence of his broken leg. Then Count Vécsey, with ten thousand men, gave up unconditionally; he was followed by Colonel Kazinczy, and the Transylvanian corps; but

these, less trustful than those whose example they imitated, positively stipulated for themselves and their troops—"the same conditions which were granted to Görgey." The betrayed still relied on the betrayer, and believed, that he had secured guarantees for the country, for his friends, and his soldiers. Many of the Hungarian representatives and commissaries, even Csányi the Ex-minister, went to the Russian camp, and gave themselves up. They saw that Kiss and Görgey were treated with the greatest distinction; that the Russian General Anrep had even intrusted his prisoner of war, the Hungarian General Lahner, with the duty of supplying provisions to the Russian troops, and conducting a correspondence with the Hungarian authorities. The Hungarians anticipated no artifice: they had not trusted to the Austrians—they trusted to the Russians!* But the Austrians were furious that the Hungarians had nowhere yielded to them, but everywhere to the Russians. Prince Lichtenstein therefore wrote to General Aristides Dessewffy, who still remained in arms, and who in former years had served with the Prince in Italy. He invited him with the warmest expressions of friendship, to

* Görgey had declared in his letters to General Rüdiger, that he would rather fight till the last man was slain, than surrender to the Austrians.

surrender to his old comrade, who awaited him with open arms. Dessewffy, only for three months happily married—deemed his soldiers and himself perfectly secured, if he complied with the summons of a man who had formerly been his friend; so, with his troops, he made a considerable circuit, not to lay down arms to any one but to Prince Lichtenstein.

The Russians, however, forthwith delivered Arad to Haynau; and here suspicion of treason awoke, when Hazai, the editor of a journal, was shot, and Colonel Ormay, who had been aide-de-camp to Kossuth was hanged. In Pancsova, Mr. Lepier, a Major on half-pay, was shot, because he had remained mayor of the place during the sway of the Hungarians; in Temesvár, Major Murmann was hanged. But in spite of all this the officers of the Hungarian army still trusted the Russians, and pitied those, who with Kossuth, Mészáros, Perczel and Guyon had fled to Turkey. They thought it natural, that Bem, Dembinski, Visozki and Monti, with the Polish and Italian legions, had resorted to those parts; but why should Hungarians become voluntary exiles, when they could stay in the country? Only a few of them left, when they still could have fled.

Whether Görgey saw the fate reserved for his friends, whether he had any notion of the ter-

rible consequences of his deed—who can say? But it appears, that he alternately entertained hope and apprehension, and that in spite of his iron mind, he sometimes shuddered at himself, and then again imagined, that his deed might have blessed consequences for Hungary. As if treachery could ever be justified by its results!

When body after body of the Hungarian troops at Világos, drew up before the Russians and silently laid down their arms without any surmise of the treachery, Görgey noticed at his side the young Reményi, scarcely eighteen years old, and a virtuoso on the violin. This youth had always been in the head-quarters of Görgey, and often at the eve of a battle, or on the morn after the combat, with his sweet melodies enlivened the heart of many an officer, and as a new David, dispelled the gloomy thoughts of the Hungarian chief. Görgey now called him, and inquired what he was going to do, and whether he was provided with money? Reményi replied with the carelessness of a youth, "that with his violin he would fight his way through the world, but as to money he had none." Görgey emptied his pocket, gave all his gold to Reményi, untied some golden toys, which were hanging on the chain of his watch, and said: "Take this, my lad, in remembrance of me!"

As Reményi noticed amongst these trifling jewels a small silver key, he returned it to the General with the observation: "But this key you got from your wife: I cannot take it: my lady would be displeased if you gave away what you received from her as a keepsake." "Take it only—" said Görgey: "after what I have done to-day, my wife in no case will smile any more upon me!"

Some days afterwards, when the Russians conducted Görgey by Upper Hungary and Galicia into Moravia, there to be given up to the hands of the Austrians, he was in the vicinity of Tokaj recognized by the people. All thronged to his carriage, and asked: "What in fact would happen?" Görgey said: "As yet I may not speak; but in a few weeks all my story will be solved—and the country will bless me!"

It is difficult to read through the soul of a traitor, and to recognize the cases in which he is sincere; but it seems the Russians made him verbal promises, which afterwards were not fulfilled by the Austrians.

Two fortresses were still in the hands of the Hungarians. The commanders of Pétervárad and Komárom refused submission, in spite of Görgey's summons and the entreaties from other quarters to the same effect. General Kiss wrote from

the Russian camp to General Klapka at Komárom. This letter expressed the perfect confidence of Kiss in a conciliatory future, and his conviction that an amnesty would certainly be granted as soon as Komárom should have surrendered. Pétervárad indeed at last gave way without stipulations, relying in the honour of the Austrian Generals. The garrison long refused to lay down their arms, but were over-persuaded by the officers.

The Generals in custody, who in the meantime had been delivered to the Austrians, were by them more strictly, yet decently, kept in Arad. Suddenly the news spread that Haynau wished to have them condemned to death; but Count Grünne, the aide-de-camp of the Emperor, was sent in great haste from Vienna to Arad, and prevented the execution. Haynau was already impatient for blood; but the Viennese ministers recommended management—Komárom had not yet surrendered.

In Hungary reliance in the Emperor's bounty was still entertained, in spite of the measure, by which already all the officers of the Hungarian army, even those who had never been in the Austrian service, were forced as private soldiers into the Austrian ranks, while all those, who previously had served, were arrested. All these proceedings, however, were considered as only temporary, and but few had such misgivings

about the fate which awaited them, as the Generals Damianics, Aulich, Count Leiningen, and Colonel Pulszky. They often told their companions, that the gallows was to be their doom.

At last also with Komárom the negotiations seemed tending to a capitulation. The garrison, after many deliberations, had consented to claim amnesty only for itself, and not for the whole country; as the Austrian negotiators declared, that a request of the garrison of Komárom would practically have the same effect, as such a stipulation, whilst the acceptance of a general amnesty, as a condition of the surrender of a fortress, would be incompatible with the dignity of the Emperor.

The prisoners at Arad were now tried by court-martial. All of them felt sure that they would be sentenced to death; but almost all believed, that a general pardon would nevertheless be granted. Colonel Pulszky gave them a supper on the eve of the trial by court-martial; and when they all retired to their prisoner-cells, he took a warmer leave from them than was his wont. The next morning he was found dead in his bed.

Klapka surrendered Komárom under honourable conditions, and the ministers in Vienna now thought the time had come, at which executions might be perpetrated in Hungary with impunity.

On the 6th of October, at dawn, four Generals were shot in Arad; Kiss, Dessewffy, Schweidel, and Török. After them were hanged the Generals Aulich, Nagy Sándor, Lahner, Pöltenberg, Knezich, Count Leiningen, Count Vécsey, Damianics, and the Colonel Lázár. These executions lasted from six to ten o'clock. The unhappy Generals were doomed to witness, how one after the other of their brave comrades were strangled; they however all died as heroes. They had faced death often enough, and knew that the gallows could not dishonour *them*, but was glorified by their martyrdom. Kiss, the hero of Perlasz, had been known for his coolness in the battle-field, and for his princely munificence in his castle. Field-Marshal Radeczki happened to be under great obligations to him; so, owing to this, he was shot instead of being hanged. Dessewffy, a cousin of my husband, had laid down arms only in consequence of the cordial letter of Prince Lichtenstein. The Prince, however, in whose friendship the Hungarian General had relied, was able to obtain for him no other mercy from Haynau, than the commutation of the rope into powder and lead. Török had, by a special order of the Emperor Ferdinand, been called from the Italian army where he was stationed, to become chief of the fortifications at Komárom, at the end of September, when Jellachich was already in the vicinity

of Pest. When Aulich was asked by the members of the court-martial, what he had to say in his defence, he answered: "In July 1848, by the order of the Emperor Ferdinand King of Hungary, I swore to the Hungarian constitution, and therefore have remained true to my oath. I prefer death to perjury." Lahner was less renowned than Damianics, Knezich, Leiningen and Nagy Sàndor, the brilliant heroes of Szolnok, Isaszeg, Nagy Sarló, Vácz, and Komárom; but he had contributed as much, or perhaps even more, to the Hungarian victories than any one of the Generals. He had been at the head of the arsenals; he had erected the manufacture of arms, and had fitted out the army.

In truth, except when the Girondins fell under the hatchet of Robespierre, no day was equally stained by the execution of so many distinguished persons as the 6th of October, 1849.

On this very same day was shed in Pest the blood of one of the most noble martyrs of freedom and for his convictions. Count Louis Batthyányi was shot on the evening of that memorable day. Before the court-martial he ever had protested against its competence. He said: "As a Hungarian he ought to be tried by the Royal Table; as a Minister, by the House of Peers, that therefore he never would answer before an exceptional

court."* The first court-martial could find no fault at all in him; but his death had been determined in Vienna; the second court-martial sentenced him to the gallows. The proud Magnate revolted at the idea of this mode of death. With a knife, which he succeeded in procuring, he wounded his throat, and thus rendered *it* physically impossible to be hanged; he was therefore shot. In spite of his considerable loss of blood, he marched with a firm step to the place of execution, cried out: "Éljen hazám!" (long live my country!) and fell pierced by three balls. A few days afterwards they hanged Ladislas Csányi, the Hungarian minister, the last of his ancient race; the venerable Baron Perényi, for

* All exceptional courts were unlawful in Hungary. The following is the 56th article of the Statutes of 1790-91, "on the crime of treason and notorious breach of allegiance," sanctioned by the Emperor Leopold II., King of Hungary.

"At the humble request of the Estates and Orders, His Majesty willingly gives his benign consent, that for the future—excepted in the cases which have come forward before the enactment of this law, the crime of High Treason and notorious breach of allegiance *be not withdrawn from the ordinary tribunals of the kingdom, but be judged by the Royal Table*, without prejudice to legal appeal; and in the very crime of High Treason, let the confiscation of goods be restricted to that portion, which belongs to the delinquent, and again without prejudice to His Majesty's authority, to exert voluntary mercy, which remains unchanged in the 7th article of the year 1715."

years a highly-prized member of the highest Court of Justice, and President of the House of Peers in Debreczen; Baron Jeszenák, Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Nyitra, Szacsvay the youthful and talented secretary of the Diet, the gallant Colonel Prince Woronieczki, and Major Abancourt, aide-de-camps of Dembinski, Giron, commander of the German-legion, Fekete, the Guerilla-leader, and Csernus the member of the Treasury board. They all died calmly, like Roman Senators in the times of Tiberius. Csányi gave his coat to a poor man, who chanced to stand next him, and himself arranged the rope round his neck. Perényi, when the act of accusation against him was read and he was called upon to defend himself, replied to the court-martial: "I have to complain that the accusation is incomplete: I request to add, that I was the first to press the resolution that the House of Hapsburg-Lorraine should be declared to have forfeited the throne of Hungary." Jeszenak's last words were: "I die tranquilly for my fatherland, and know that our deaths will be revenged!"

In consequence of these executions, many of the members of the Hungarian aristocracy, who during the struggle had retired to Austria, becoming passive lookers-on, and who, after the surrender at Világos, had accepted offices from

the Austrian Government, now gave in their resignation and returned to their estates.

But in America and Europe, all parties and classes, the Russian Generals not excepted, expressed their horror at the terrible scenes of Arad and Pest, and their intense disapprobation of the ministers, who fancied that the constitutional throne of centralized Austria was to be supported by bayonets, scaffolds and sanguinary hatred.

The Viennese ministry saw that it could not continue such a course, and began to apprehend that the executed men might in future prove to it even more dangerous than those who survived. The mode of proceeding, therefore, was altered. The gaze of Europe had flinched from the sight of the scaffold; dungeons were thought to be less painfully striking than the gallows! How few persons remembered the "*carcere duro*" of Silvio Pellico! Such torture, therefore, was now deemed sufficient by the Viennese rulers. The Colonels of the Hungarian army, therefore, were sentenced to eighteen, the Majors to sixteen years' imprisonment, and all those who had taken part in the war were forced into the Austrian ranks under the serjeant's stick. Heavy fines and contributions were besides to fill the empty treasury, and to crush the proud Hungarian aristocracy, which had not upheld the interests of the Camarilla, but

having nobly joined the cause of the people, had for this grand aim ungrudgingly staked blood and life. *Solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant!*

But neither were those who escaped the revenge of the Viennese ministry by their flight to Turkey, to be secure against persecution. Austria did not rest, until, notwithstanding the good offices of England and France, and the fleet in the Dardanelles, it carried through its demand, based on no previous treaty: that Kossuth and his companions were to be put '*under surveillance*' in an Asiatic fortress. In that remote place, out of the reach of the animating influence of European interests, the Hungarian leaders are to be buried, at least until the tide of events shall have swept away the general sympathy justly felt for a country which struggled so bravely for her own laws, and was trampled under foot against all laws.

Against those fugitives, who, more fortunate than their countrymen, have arrived in England and France, the most odious calumnies have been systematically invented, and published by the official and half-official Austrian journals, in order to drown their voice, in case they should venture to speak. The wanton conqueror wishes to brand the conquered; but he cannot reach those whom

the public feeling of justice protects, and the brand-mark does but stain his own hand.

As for Hungary, deep silence reigns there. Is it the stillness which is spread over the grave-yard, or the oppressive heaviness which precedes the storm?

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

I.

ROYAL SANCTION TO THE LAWS PASSED BY THE DIET OF 1847-48, GIVEN APRIL 11, 1848, IN PRESENCE OF THE ARCHDUKES FRANCIS CHARLES, FRANCIS JOSEPH, AND STEPHEN, AND OF THE MAGNATES AND REPRESENTATIVES OF HUNGARY AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

"HAVING graciously listened to, and graciously granted the prayers of our beloved and faithful Dignitaries of the Church and of the State, Magnates, and Nobles of Hungary and its Dependencies, we ordain that the before-mentioned laws be registered in these presents, word for word; and as we consider these laws and their entire contents both collectively and separately fitting and suitable, we give them our consent and approbation. In exercise of our royal will, we have accepted, adopted, approved and sanctioned them, assuring at the same time our faithful States, that we will respect the said laws, and will cause them to be respected by our faithful subjects.

(Signed) "FERDINAND.

(Countersigned) "BATTHYANYI."

II.

IMPERIAL MANIFESTO ANNOUNCING TO THE CROATIANS AND SCLAVONIANS THAT THE BAN, BARON JOSEPH JELLACHICH, IS SUSPENDED FROM ALL HIS DIGNITIES AND OFFICES.

We, Ferdinand I., Emperor of Austria, as King of Hungary, Croatia, Dalmatia, Sclavonia, the Fifth, &c., we assure you, inhabitants of our kingdoms Croatia and Sclavonia, of our sovereign grace, and issue the following manifesto:

Croatians and Sclavonians!

Our paternal heart found warm satisfaction in the trust, that whilst, in compliance with the wishes of our faithful nations, we extended the benefits of constitutional freedom over all our subjects, we thus bound the nations, entrusted by Providence to our care, to be grateful towards ourselves, and to adhere firmly to our throne. We trusted, at the same time, that the establishment of equal rights and liberties would encourage our people to brotherly union in the effort of general improvement, for which we had opened the largest field. With full reliance in these our intentions, we were painfully struck by the sad discovery that with you in particular our trustful expectations were frustrated.

With you, Croatians and Sclavonians! who, united to the crown of Hungary for eight centuries, shared all the fates of this country; you, Croatians and Scla-

vonians, who owe to this very union the constitutional freedom, which alone amongst all Sclavonic nations you have been enabled to preserve for centuries; we were doomed to be mistaken with you, who not only ever have shared in all the rights and liberties of the Hungarian constitution, but who besides—in just recompence of your loyalty, until now stainlessly preserved—were lawfully endowed with peculiar rights, privileges, and liberties, by the grace of our illustrious ancestors, and who, therefore, possess greater privileges than any whosoever of the subjects of our sacred Hungarian crown. We were mistaken in you, to whom the last Diet of the kingdom of Hungary and its dependencies, according to our own sovereign will, granted full part in all the benefits of the enlarged constitutional liberties, and equality of rights. The legislation of the crown of Hungary has abolished feudal servitude, as well with you as in Hungary; and those amongst you, who were subjected to the soccage, have without any sacrifice on their part become free proprietors. The landed proprietors receive for their loss, occasioned by the abolition of soccage, an indemnification, which you with your own means would be unable to provide. The indemnification granted on this account to your landed proprietors will be entailed on our Hungarian crown estates with our sovereign ratification, and without any charge to yourselves.

The right also of constitutional representation was extended to the people with you no less than in Hungary; in consequence of which no longer the nobility alone, but likewise other inhabitants and the Military Frontier, take part by their representatives in the legislation common to all, as much as in the municipal con-

gregations. Thus you can improve your welfare by your immediate co-operation. Until now, the nobility contributed but little to the public expenses, hence-forward the proportional repartition of the taxes amongst all inhabitants is lawfully established, whereby you have been delivered from an oppressive charge. Your nationality and municipal rights, relative to which ill-intentioned and malicious reports have been spread with the aim of exciting your distrust, are by no means threatened. On the very contrary, both your nationality and your municipal rights are enlarged, and secured against any encroachment; as not only the use of your native language is lawfully guaranteed to you for ever in your schools and churches, but it is likewise introduced in the public assemblies, where the Latin has been habitual until now.

Calumniators sought to make you believe that the Hungarian nation desired to suppress your language, or at least to prevent its further development. We ourselves assure you, that these reports are totally false, and that it is recognized with approbation, that you exert yourselves to develop and establish your own mother-tongue, renouncing the dead Latin language. The legislature is willing to support you in this effort, by providing adequately for your priests, to whom is entrusted the spiritual care of the soul, and the education of your children. For eight centuries you have been united to Hungary. During this whole time the legislature has ever dealt with due regard to your nationality. How could you, therefore, believe that the legislature, which has guarded your mother-tongue for eight centuries, should now bear a hostile aversion to it?

And notwithstanding all this, whereas the guarantee of your nationality, and the enlargement of your constitutional liberties, ought to have been greeted with ready acknowledgment, persons have been found amongst you, who instead of the thankfulness, love and loyalty, which they owe to ourselves, have unfolded the standard of fanatical distrust; who represent the Hungarians as your enemies, and who use every means to disunite the two nations, namely, the very same who persecuted your fellow-citizens, and by intimidation which endangered personal safety, forced them to leave their country, because they had attempted to enlighten you as to the real truth. Our deep concern relative to these excitements, was heightened by the solicitudes, lest perhaps the very man had given up himself to this criminal sedition, whom we have overwhelmed with tokens of our royal bounty, and whom we had appointed as guardian of the law and security in your country. Our deep concern was heightened by the apprehension, that this man, abusing the position to which he had been raised by our bounty, had not corrected the notions of the falsely informed citizens, as he should have done; but animated by party hatred, had still more inflamed the fanaticism; yes, unmindful of his oath as subject, had attempted encroachments against the union with Hungary, and, hereby, against the integrity of our holy Crown and our Royal Dignity.

Formerly, in Hungary and its dependencies we administered the executive powers by our Hungarian Chancery and Home-Office, and in military concerns, by our Council of War. To the orders issued in this way, the Bans of Croatia, Dalmatia and Sclavonia were obedient, just as they were bound, in more remote

times, to obey the orders of our Hungarian authorities, issued in a different manner and in differerent forms, according to the mode of administering our executive power arranged by the Diet with our ratification.

In consequence of the request addressed to us by our faithful States, and guided by our own free will, in the last Hungarian Diet we graciously sanctioned the law, according to which our beloved cousin, his Imperial Highness the Archduke Stephen, Palatine of Hungary, was, during our absence from Hungary, declared our Royal Lieutenant, who as such had to administer the executive power by the hands of our Hungarian Ministry, which we simultaneously had appointed, entrusting it with all authority, which had rested before with the Royal Chancery, the Home-Office, the Treasury and the Council of War.

In spite of this, Baron Joseph Jellachich, whom we graciously favoured with the appointment of Ban of our kingdoms of Croatia, Dalmatia and Sclavonia, is accused as having the temerity to refuse this due obedience.

We, the King of Hungary, Croatia, Sclavonia and Dalmatia, we, whose person is sacred to you, we tell you, Croatians and Sclavonians, the law too is sacred, and must be considered so! *We have sworn to the Eternal King of all Kings, that we ourselves shall preserve the integrity of our Hungarian Crown, and of our Constitution, and that we will no less ourselves obey the law, than we will have it obeyed by others.*

We will keep our royal oath. We are gracious to our loyal subjects, forbearing to the guilty who repent, but inexorably severe towards stubborn traitors. And we shall give over to avenging Justice those who dare presumptuously to trifle with our royal oath. He who

revolts against the law, revolts against our Royal Throne, which rests upon the law, and Baron Jellachich is accused, with his notorious adherents, of not only opposing the law, but persisting in his disobedience, regardless of the fatherly exhortations which we have addressed to him.

The first care of our beloved cousin, the Archduke Palatine, and of our Hungarian Ministry was, to call upon Baron Jellachich to explain himself in respect to your nationality, your rights, and your liberties; so that, as soon as possible—besides other measures—the Croatian Congregation might be assembled, and those laws might thus be published, whose blessings we never intended to withhold from you, and that after this the Ban should be publicly invested with his dignity; since before this installation he could not be considered as a legitimate office-holder.

Notwithstanding our repeated orders to Baron Jellachich to comply with the summons of our Royal Lieutenant, and our Hungarian Ministry, the Baron is accused of having disobeyed, and of having by this disobedience exposed you to the dangers of anarchy. But as though it were not enough that the Ban himself did not obey, he is accused of having called the lawful authorities to the same disobedience, and of having *forced* them, no less than the people itself, *by violent means*, to hostile demonstrations against Hungary.

All of you must have witnessed the acts of which he is accused; all of you must have seen if he persecuted those, who wanted to keep the union of Croatia with Hungary unimpaired, if he deposed them arbitrarily from their offices, if he brought a trial by Court-martial upon all those, who did not do homage to his political

views, and by this means compelled many families to flight and emigration. All of you must have seen if the Ban prevented the lawfully-appointed Lord-Lieutenants from entering upon their duties; if he violently seized the funds belonging to the Treasury, and even employed our own troops to achieve this arbitrary deed.

You must know if, without the Diet, at his own will, he charged you with new taxes, *and without any authority* strove to force the people to take up arms,—an act which we ourselves cannot authorize without the consent of the legislative power. You must be able to evince, if he allowed, that his notorious adherents incited the people by tales and false reports relative to the Hungarians, as if they threatened your nationality; if he allowed, that sedition was preached in illegal assemblies against the Hungarians, that arbitrary appointments were made; yes, that in consequence of the excitement occasioned by these proceedings, bloody conflicts, and plunder, and murder have taken place in Hungary. You know the personal affront which has been perpetrated under the very eyes of the Ban, against an illustrious member of our Royal House, against our Royal Lieutenant, the Archduke Palatine, in the public place of Zágráb,*—a town which of late has repeatedly been the scene of illegalities. You must know it, if the Ban punished the perpetrators of such deeds. It cannot be unknown to you, if he really refused obedience to our Royal Commissary, Baron

* The portrait of the Archduke Palatine, in the spring of 1848, was publicly burnt in Zágráb (Agram), under the windows of the Ban Jellachich, who did nothing to prevent or to punish this disorder.

Hrabovszky,* our Privy Councillor, and Lieutenant Field-Marshal, who has been appointed to re-establish public order and security.

Moved by fatherly care for the welfare of our perhaps misled subjects, we tried the last means—to grant opportunity of personal defence to the accused, before we lent an ear to the complaints against him. We summoned Baron Jellachich, by our own autograph order, to retract the Croatian Congregation, which, without our sanction, and therefore in defiance of the law, he has illegally convoked for the 5th of June of this year; and we ordered him to appear personally before ourselves, in order to effect the conciliation which is needed for re-establishing order in Croatia.

But Jellachich has as little obeyed this our present command, as our former regulations, and has neither retracted the Congregation nor has he appeared before ourselves, at the appointed time. Thus stubborn perseverance in disobeying our own sovereign command was added to so many complaints against Baron Jellachich. No other means was left, to relieve our royal authority from the injury of such behaviour, and to uphold the laws, than to send our faithful Privy Councillor, Lieutenant Field-Marshal Hrabovszky, as our Royal Commissary, to investigate those unlawful proceedings, and to open a law-suit against Baron Jellachich, and his possible accomplices; and lastly, *to deprive Baron Jellachich, until his perfect clearance, of all his dignities as Ban, and of all his military offices.* I sternly exhort you to renounce all

* Baron Hrabovszky was arrested by the Austrian authorities at the entrance of Windischgrätz in Pest, and is still under trial.

participation in seditions, which aim at a separation from our Hungarian Crown, and under the same penalty I command all authorities to break off immediately all intercourse with Baron Jellachich, and those who may be implied in the accusations against him, and to comply unconditionally with the orders of our Royal Commissary.

Croatians and Sclavonians! We guarantee your nationality and your liberties, and the fulfilment of your just requests with our royal word; therefore do not believe any seducing insinuations, with which one aims to misuse you for attaining unlawful ends, by which your country is to be given up to oppression and infinite misery.

Listen to the well-wishing voice of your King addressing you, as many as still are his faithful Croats and Sclavonians.

Herewith we summon every one to publish and spread this Manifesto, according to his loyalty to our sovereign authority.

Given in our town of Innspruck the 10th day of June, 1848.

FERDINAND.

III.

ROYAL SPEECH READ BY ARCHDUKE STEPHEN, PALATINE AND ROYAL LIEUTENANT OF HUNGARY, IN THE NAME OF THE EMPEROR FERDINAND, KING OF HUNGARY, AT THE OPENING OF THE HUNGARIAN DIET, JULY 8, 1848.

In the name, and as representative of our glorious reigning King, Ferdinand V., I hereby open the present Diet. The extraordinary circumstances in which the country has been placed, make it necessary to summon at once a meeting of the Diet, without waiting for the completion in detail of all the propositions and administrative measures which the responsible Ministers of the Crown were charged and directed by the past Diet to prepare and complete. Croatia rose in undisguised sedition; in the districts of the Lower Danube, bands of armed rebels have broken the peace of the country, and while *it is the sincere wish of his Majesty to avoid a civil war*, his Majesty is, on the other hand, convinced that the assembled representatives of the nation will regard it *as their first and chief duty to provide all the means required to restore the troubled tranquillity of the country*, to preserve the integrity of the Hungarian realm, and maintain the sacred inviolability of the law. The *defence of the country* and *the state of the finances* will therefore form the chief subject towards which, under these extraordinary circumstances, I call the attention

of the assembled representatives. His Majesty's responsible ministers will submit to you propositions relating to these points. His Majesty entertains the confident hope that the representatives of the nation will adopt speedy and appropriate decisions upon all matters connected with the safety and welfare of the country.

His Majesty has learned with deep feelings of regret and displeasure,—although he in his hearty paternal desire for the happiness of this country, *following solely the impulse of his own desire, sanctioned during the last Diet,* by giving to them the royal assent, *those laws which were necessary to the progress of the country to prosperity* under the demands of the time,—yet that, especially in Croatia and on the Lower Danube, evil disposed rebellious agitators have excited the inhabitants of those countries, speaking different languages and holding different creeds, with false reports and terrorism to mutual hostility, and have driven them, under the calumnious representation that those laws were not then sanctioned out of the free-will of his Majesty, to oppose the ordinances of those laws and the legal authorities—that some even have gone so far in rebellion as to announce that their violent resistance to those decrees is for the good of the royal house, and takes place with the knowledge of his Majesty.

For the tranquillization of the inhabitants of those districts, of all tongues and creeds, I therefore hereby declare, under the special commission of his most gracious Majesty our lord the King, in his name and as his representative, that his Majesty is firmly resolved to maintain intact, by his royal power, the integrity and inviolability of his crown against all attacks from without, and against all discord within the realm, and

to assert and enforce at all times the laws he shall have sanctioned. And as his Majesty will allow no one to curtail the freedom assured by the laws to the inhabitants of the country, his Majesty expresses his displeasure with the daring conduct of all those who venture to assert that any illegal act or disobedience shown to the law can have taken place with his Majesty's knowledge or in the interest of his royal house.

The Union of Transylvania with Hungary was sanctioned by his Majesty, in part because he by that step fulfilled the earnest desire of his dearly beloved Hungarian and Transylvanian people, but also because the united countries will in future form a firmer support to the throne and to freedom. His Majesty's ministers for Hungary will submit all the details respecting this already-accomplished union, which remain for the consideration of the legislative body.

With regard to foreign affairs; in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, where the hostile troops of the King of Sardinia and of other Italian powers have attacked the army of his Majesty, the war has not yet been brought to a close. With the other foreign powers, the peaceable relations have remained inviolate, and his Majesty has the less doubt of their being maintained as he reckons it to be the highest duty of his government to neglect nothing which, without injury to the dignity of the throne, and the safety of his loyal subjects and their legitimate interests, may confirm a peaceable understanding with foreign powers; and his Majesty has a right to hope that, as he adheres to the principles of neutrality as regards the internal affairs of other coun-

tries, this neutrality will be responded to on the part of foreign countries in equal measure. His Majesty does not doubt that the Diet, in the combined interests of the throne and of constitutional freedom, will order, without delay, all that the welfare of the country so urgently demands.

I only fulfil the demands of his Majesty, when I assure the Diet and the whole loyal nation of the gracious disposition entertained towards them by our illustrious lord, the King.

IV.

MANIFESTO APPOINTING BARON JOSEPH JELLACHICH ROYAL LIEUTENANT AND CIVIL AND MILITARY COMMISSARY OF HUNGARY.

We, Ferdinand I., Constitutional Emperor of Austria, &c., King of Hungary, Croatia, Sclavonia, Dalmatia the Vth of this name, to the Barons, to the High-Dignitaries of the Church and State, to the Magnates and Representatives of Hungary, its dependencies, and the Grand Duchy of Transylvania, who are assembled at the Diet, convoked by ourselves in our free and royal town of Pest, our greeting.

To our deep concern and indignation the House of Representatives has been seduced by Kossuth and his adherents to great illegalities; it has even carried out several illegal resolutions against our royal will, and has lately, on the 27th of September issued a resolution against the commission of the Royal commissary, our Lieutenant Field-Marshal, Count Francis Lamberg, appointed by ourselves to re-establish peace. In consequence of which, this our Royal Commissary, before he could even produce his commission, was in the public street violently attacked by the furious mob, which murdered him in the most atrocious manner. Under these circumstances, we see ourselves compelled, according to our royal duty, for the maintenance of the security and the law, to take the following measures, and to command their enforcement:

First. We dissolve the Diet by this our decree; so that after the publication of our present Sovereign Rescript, the Diet has immediately to close its Sessions.

Secondly. We declare as illegal, void, and invalid all the resolutions, and the measures of the Diet, which we have not sanctioned.

Thirdly. All troops, and armed bodies of every kind, whether national guards, or volunteers, which are stationed in Hungary, and its dependencies, as well as in Transylvania, are placed by this our decree, under the chief command of our Ban of Croatia, Sclavonia and Dalmatia, Lieutenant Field-Marshal Baron Joseph Jellachich.

Fourthly. Until the disturbed peace and order in the country shall be restored, the Kingdom of Hungary shall be subjected to martial law; in consequence of which, the respective authorities are meanwhile to abstain from the celebration of congregations, whether of the counties, of the municipalities, or of the districts.

Fifthly. Our Ban of Croatia, Sclavonia and Dalmatia, Baron Joseph Jellachich, is hereby invested and empowered as Commissary of our Royal Majesty; and we give him full power and force, that he may, in the sphere of Executive Ministry, exercise the authority, with which as Lieutenant of our Royal Majesty, we have invested him in the present extraordinary circumstances.

In consequence of this our Sovereign plenipotence, we declare that whatsoever the Ban of Croatia shall order, regulate, determine and command, is to be considered as ordered, regulated, determined and commanded by our royal authority. In consequence of which, we likewise by this graciously give command to all

our ecclesiastical, civil and military authorities, officers, and High Dignitaries of our Kingdom of Hungary, its dependencies, and Transylvania, as also to all their inhabitants, that all the orders signed by Baron Jellachich as our empowered Royal Commissary, shall be by them obeyed, and enforced, in the same way as they are bound to obey our Royal Majesty.

Sixthly. We peculiarly enjoin our Royal Commissary to take care that the assailants and murderers of our Royal Commissary, Count Lamberg, as well as the authors and participators of this revolting and shameful action, shall be visited with the full severity of the law.

Seventhly. The remaining current business of the civil administration shall, meanwhile, be transacted by the officers of the ministerial departments, according to the regulations of the laws.

It will be established besides, in the lawful way after consulting the representatives of all parts of our realms, in what way the preservation of the Unity and the direction of the common interests of the whole Monarchy, can be lastingly re-established in future; in what way the equality of rights of all nationalities can be guaranteed for ever, and how the reciprocal relations of all the countries and nations, united under Our Crown, are on this basis to be ordained.

Given at Schönbrunn, the 3rd of October, 1848.

(Signed) FERDINAND.

(Countersigned) ADAM RECSEY.
Minister President.

V.

DECLARATION RELATIVE TO THE SEPARATION OF HUNGARY FROM AUSTRIA.

We, the legally-constituted representatives of the Hungarian nation assembled in Diet, do by these presents solemnly proclaim, in maintenance of the inalienable natural rights of Hungary, with all its dependencies, to occupy the position of an independent European State—that the House of Hapsburg-Lorraine, as perjured in the sight of God and man, has forfeited its right to the Hungarian throne. At the same time, we feel ourselves bound in duty to make known the motives and reasons which have impelled us to this decision, that the civilized world may learn we have taken this step not out of overweening confidence in our own wisdom, or out of revolutionary excitement, but that it is an act of the last necessity, adopted to preserve from utter destruction a nation persecuted to the limit of the most enduring patience.

Three hundred years have passed since the Hungarian nation, by free election, placed the House of Austria upon its throne, in accordance with stipulations made on both sides, and ratified by treaty. These three hundred years have been, for the country, a period of uninterrupted suffering.

The Creator has blessed this country with all the elements of wealth and happiness. Its area of 100,000 square miles presents in varied profusion innumerable sources of prosperity. Its population, numbering nearly

fifteen millions, feels the glow of youthful strength within its veins, and has shown temper and docility which warrant its proving at once the main organ of civilization in Eastern Europe, and the guardian of that civilization when attacked. Never was a more grateful task appointed to a reigning dynasty by the dispensation of Providence than that which devolved upon the House of Hapsburg-Lorraine. It would have sufficed to do nothing that could impede the development of the country. Had this been the rule observed, Hungary would now rank amongst the most prosperous nations. It was only necessary that it should not envy the Hungarians the moderate share of constitutional liberty which they timidly maintained during the difficulties of a thousand years with rare fidelity to their sovereigns, and the House of Hapsburg might long have counted this nation amongst the most faithful adherents of the throne.

This dynasty, however, which can at no epoch point to a ruler who based his power on the freedom of the people, adopted a course towards this nation, from father to son, which deserves the appellation of perjury.

The House of Austria has publicly used every effort to deprive the country of its legitimate independence and constitution, designing to reduce it to a level with the other provinces long since deprived of all freedom, and to unite all in a common link of slavery. Foiled in this effort by the untiring vigilance of the nation, it directed its endeavour to lame the power, to check the progress of Hungary, causing it to minister to the gain of the provinces of Austria, but only to the extent which enabled those provinces to bear the load of taxation with

which the prodigality of the imperial house weighed them down; having first deprived those provinces of all constitutional means of remonstrating against a policy which was not based upon the welfare of the subject, but solely tended to maintain despotism and crush liberty in every country of Europe.

It has frequently happened that the Hungarian nation, in spite of this systematized tyranny, has been obliged to take up arms in self-defence. Although constantly victorious in these constitutional struggles, yet so moderate has the nation ever been in its use of the victory, so strongly has it confided in the King's plighted word, that it has ever laid down arms as soon as the King by new compacts and fresh oaths has guaranteed the duration of its rights and liberty. But every new compact was futile as those which preceded it; each oath which fell from the royal lips was but a renewal of previous perjuries. The policy of the House of Austria, which aimed at destroying the independence of Hungary as a state, has been pursued unaltered for three hundred years.

It was in vain that the Hungarian nation shed its blood for the deliverance of Austria whenever it was in danger; vain were all the sacrifices which it made to serve the interests of the reigning house; in vain did it, on the renewal of the royal promises, forget the wounds which the past had inflicted; vain was the fidelity cherished by the Hungarians for their king, and which, in moments of danger, assumed a character of devotion;—they were in vain, because the history of the government of that dynasty in Hungary presents but an unbroken series of perjured deeds from generation to generation.

In spite of such treatment, the Hungarian nation has all along respected the tie by which it was united to this dynasty; and in now decreeing its expulsion from the throne, it acts under the natural law of self-preservation, being driven to pronounce this sentence by the full conviction that the House of Hapsburg-Lorraine is compassing the destruction of Hungary as an independent state; so that this dynasty has been the first to tear the bands by which it was united to the Hungarian nation, and to confess that it had torn them in the face of Europe. For many causes a nation is justified, before God and man, in expelling a reigning dynasty. Amongst such are the following:—

When it forms alliances with the enemies of the country, with robbers, or partisan chieftains, to oppress the nation; when it attempts to annihilate the independence of the country and its constitution, sanctioned by oaths, attacking with an armed force the people who have committed no act of revolt; when the integrity of a country which the sovereign has sworn to maintain is violated, and its power diminished; when foreign armies are employed to murder the people, and to oppress their liberties.

Each of the grounds here enumerated would justify the exclusion of a dynasty from the throne. But the House of Lorraine-Hapsburg is unexampled in the compass of its perjuries, and has committed every one of these crimes against the nation; and its determination to extinguish the independence of Hungary has been accompanied with a succession of criminal acts, comprising robbery, destruction of property by fire, murder, maiming and personal ill-treatment of all kinds, besides setting the laws of the country at defiance, so that

humanity will shudder when reading this disgraceful page of history.

The main impulse to this recent unjustifiable course was the passing of the laws adopted in the spring of 1848 for the better protection of the constitution of the country. These laws provided reforms in the internal government of the country, by which the commutation of servile services and of the tithe were decreed; a fair representation guaranteed to the people in the Diet, the constitution of which was, before that, exclusively aristocratical; equality before the law proclaimed; the privilege of exemption from taxation abolished; freedom of the press pronounced; and, to stem the torrent of abuses, trial by jury established, with other improvements. Notwithstanding that troubles broke out in every province of the Austrian empire, as a consequence of the French February Revolution, and the reigning dynasty was left without support, the Hungarian nation was too generous at such a moment to demand more privileges, and contented itself with enforcing the administration of its old rights upon a system of ministerial responsibility, and with maintaining them and the independence of the country against the often renewed and perjured attempts of the crown. These rights, and the independence sought to be maintained, were, however, no new acquisition, but were what the king, by his oath, and according to law, was bound to keep up, and which had not in the slightest degree been affected by the relation in which Hungary stood to the provinces of the empire.

In point of fact, Hungary and Transylvania, with all their possessions and dependencies, never were incorporated into the Austrian empire, but formed a separate

independent kingdom, even after the adoption of the Pragmatic Sanction by which the same law of succession was adopted for Hungary which obtained in the other countries and provinces.

The clearest proof of this legal fact is furnished by the law incorporated into the act of the Pragmatic Sanction, and which stipulates that the territory of Hungary and its dependencies, as well as its independence, self-government, constitution, and privileges, shall remain inviolate and specially guaranteed.

Another proof is contained in the stipulation of the Pragmatic Sanction, according to which the heir of the crown only becomes legally king of Hungary upon the conclusion of a coronation treaty with the nation, and upon his swearing to maintain the constitution and the laws of the country, whereupon he is to be crowned with the crown of St. Stephen. The act signed at the coronation contains the stipulation that all laws, privileges, and the entire constitution, shall be observed, together with the order of succession. Only one sovereign since the adoption of the Pragmatic Sanction refused to enter into the coronation compact, and swear to the constitution. This was Joseph II., who died without being crowned, but for that reason his name is not recorded amongst the kings of Hungary, and all his acts are considered illegal, null and void. His successor, Leopold II., was obliged, before ascending the Hungarian throne, to enter into the coronation compact, to take the oath, and to let himself be crowned. On this occasion it was distinctly declared in Art. 10, 1790, sanctioned upon oath by the king, that Hungary was a free and independent country with regard to its government, and not

subordinate to any other state or people whatever, consequently that it was to be governed by its own customs and laws.

The same oath was taken by Francis I., who came to the throne in the year 1792. On the extinction of the imperial dignity in Germany, and the foundation of the Austrian empire, this emperor, who allowed himself to violate the law in innumerable instances, had still sufficient respect for his oath, publicly to avow that Hungary formed no portion of the Austrian empire. For this reason Hungary was separated from the rest of the Austrian states by a chain of custom guards along the whole frontier, which still continues.

The same oath was taken on his accession to the throne by Ferdinand V., who, at the Diet held at Pressburg last year, of his own free-will, sanctioned the laws that were passed, but who, soon after, breaking that oath, entered into a conspiracy with the other members of his family with the intent of erasing Hungary from the list of independent nations.

Still the Hungarian nation preserved with useless piety its loyalty to its perjured sovereign, and during March last year, while the empire was on the brink of destruction, while its armies in Italy suffered one defeat after another, and he in his Imperial palace had to fear at any moment that he might be driven from it; Hungary did not take advantage of so favourable a moment to make increased demands; it only asked that its constitution might be guaranteed, and abuses rectified—a constitution, to maintain which fourteen kings of the Austrian dynasty had sworn

a solemn oath, which every one of them had broken.

When the king undertook to guarantee those ancient rights, and gave his sanction to the establishment of a responsible ministry, the Hungarian nation flew enthusiastically to his support, and rallied its might around his tottering throne. At that eventful crisis, as at so many others, the house of Austria was saved by the fidelity of the Hungarians.

Scarcely, however, had this oath fallen from his lips when he conspired anew with his family, the accomplices of his crime, to compass the destruction of the Hungarian nation. This conspiracy did not take place on the ground that any new privileges were conceded by the recent laws which diminished the royal authority. From what has been said, it is clear that no such demands were made. The conspiracy was founded to get rid of the responsible ministry, which made it impossible for the Vienna cabinet to treat the Hungarian constitution any longer as a nullity.

In former times a governing council, under the name of the Royal Hungarian Stadtholdership, (Consilium Locum tenentiale Hungaricum), the president of which was the Palatine, held its seat at Buda, whose sacred duty it was to watch over the integrity of the state, the inviolability of the constitution, and the sanctity of the laws; but this collegiate authority not presenting any element of personal responsibility, the Vienna cabinet gradually degraded this council to the position of an administrative organ of court absolutism. In this manner, while Hungary had ostensibly an independent government, the despotic Vienna cabinet disposed at will of the money and blood of the people

for foreign purposes, postponing its trading interests to the success of courtly cabals, injurious to the welfare of the people, so that we were excluded from all connexion with the other countries of the world, and were degraded to the position of a colony. The mode of governing by a ministry was intended to put a stop to these proceedings, which caused the rights of the country to moulder uselessly in its parchments; by the change, these rights and the royal oath were both to become a reality. It was the apprehension of this, and especially the fear of losing its control over the money and blood of the country, which caused the House of Austria to determine to involve Hungary, by the foulest intrigues, in the horrors of fire and slaughter, that, having plunged the country in a civil war, it might seize the opportunity to dismember the lands, and blot out the name of Hungary from the list of independent nations, and unite its plundered and bleeding limbs with the Austrian monarchy.

The beginning of this course was by issuing orders during the existence of the ministry, directing an Austrian general to rise in rebellion against the laws of the country, and by nominating the same general Ban of Croatia, a kingdom belonging to the kingdom of Hungary. Croatia and Sclavonia were chosen as the seat of military operations in this rebellion, because the military organization of a portion of those countries promised to present the greatest number of disposable troops; it was also thought, that since a portion of those countries had for centuries been excluded from the enjoyment of constitutional rights, and subjected to a military organization in the name of the emperor, they would easily be induced to rise at his bidding.

Croatia and Sclavonia were chosen to begin this rebellion, because in those countries the inhuman policy of Prince Metternich had, with a view to the weakening of all parties, for years cherished hatred against the Hungarian nation. By exciting in every possible manner the most unfounded national jealousies, and by employing the most disgraceful means, he had succeeded in inflaming a party with rage, although the Hungarians, far from desiring to oppress the Croatians, allowed the most unrestrained development to the provincial institutions of Croatia, and shared with their Croatian and Sclavonian brethren their political rights, even going the length of sacrificing some of their own rights, by acknowledging special privileges and immunities in those dependencies.

The Ban revolted, therefore, in the name of the Emperor, and rebelled openly against the King of Hungary, who is, however, one and the same person; and he went so far as to decree the separation of Croatia and Sclavonia from Hungary, with which they had been united for eight hundred years, as well as to incorporate them with the Austrian empire. Public opinion and undoubted facts threw the blame of these proceedings on the Archduke Louis, uncle to the Emperor, on his brother, the Archduke Francis Charles, and especially on the consort of the last-named prince, the Archduchess Sophia; and since the Ban in this act of rebellion openly alleged that he acted as a faithful subject of the Emperor, the ministry of Hungary requested their sovereign by a public declaration to wipe off the stigma which these proceedings threw upon the family. At that moment affairs were not prosperous for Austria in

Italy; the Emperor, therefore, did proclaim that the Ban and his associates were guilty of high treason, and of exciting to rebellion. But at the same time that this edict was published, the Ban and his accomplices were covered with favours at Court, and supplied for their enterprise with money, arms, and ammunition. The Hungarians, confiding in the royal proclamation, and not wishing to provoke a civil conflict, did not hunt out those proscribed traitors in their lair, and only adopted measures for checking any extension of the rebellion. But soon afterwards the inhabitants of South Hungary, of Servian race, were excited to rebellion by precisely the same means.

These were also declared by the King to be rebels, but were, nevertheless, like the others, supplied with money, arms, and ammunition. The King's commissioned officer and civil servants enlisted bands of robbers in the principality of Servia to strengthen the rebels, and aid them in massacreing the peaceable Hungarian and German inhabitants of the Banat. The command of these rebellious bodies was further intrusted to the rebel leaders of the Croatians.

During this rebellion of the Hungarian Servians, scenes of cruelty were witnessed at which the heart shudders. Whole towns and villages, once flourishing, were laid waste, Hungarians fleeing before these murderers were reduced to the condition of vagrants and beggars in their own country; the most lovely districts were converted into a wilderness.

Thus were the Hungarians driven to self-defence, but the Austrian Cabinet had dispatched some time previously the bravest portion of the national troops to Italy, to

oppress the kingdoms of Lombardy and Venice; notwithstanding that our country was at home bleeding from a thousand wounds, still she had allowed them to leave for the defence of Austria. The greater part of the Hungarian regiments were, according to the old system of government, scattered through the other provinces of the empire. In Hungary itself, the troops quartered were mostly Austrian, and they afforded more protection to the rebels than to the laws, or to the internal peace of the country.

The withdrawal of these troops, and the return of the national militia was demanded of the Government, but was either refused or its fulfilment delayed; and when our brave comrades, on hearing the distress of the country, returned in masses, they were persecuted, and such as were obliged to yield to superior force were disarmed and sentenced to death, for having defended their country against rebels.

The Hungarian ministry begged the King earnestly to issue orders to all troops and commanders of fortresses in Hungary, enjoining fidelity to the constitution, and obedience to the ministers of Hungary. Such a proclamation was sent to the Palatine, the Viceroy of Hungary, Archduke Stephen, at Buda. The necessary letters were written and sent to the Post-office. But this nephew of the King, the Archduke Palatine, shamelessly caused these letters to be smuggled back from the Post-office, although they had been countersigned by the responsible ministers, and they were afterwards found amongst his papers, when he treacherously departed from the country.

The rebel Ban menaced the Hungarian coast with an attack, and the Government, with the King's consent,

ordered an armed corps to march through Styria for the defence of Fiume; but this whole force received orders to march into Italy. Yet such glaring treachery was ot disavowed by the Vienna Cabinet.

The rebel force occupied Fiume, and disunited it from the kingdom of Hungary, and this irruption was disavowed by the Vienna Cabinet, as having been a misunderstanding; the furnishing of arms, ammunition, and money to the rebels of Croatia was also declared to have been a misunderstanding. Instructions were issued to the effect, that unless special orders were given, the army and the commanders of fortresses were not to follow the orders of the Hungarian ministers, but were to execute the orders of the Austrian Cabinet.

Finally, to reap the fruit of so much perfidy, the Emperor Francis Joseph dared to call himself King of Hungary in the manifesto of 9th March, wherein he openly declares that he erases the Hungarian nation from the list of the independent nations of Europe, and that he divided its territory into five parts, dividing Transylvania, Croatia, Sclavonia, and Fiume from Hungary, creating at the same time a principality for the Servian rebels (the Koirodina) and having paralyzed the political existence of the country, declared it incorporate into the Austrian monarchy.

Never was so disgraceful a line of policy followed towards a nation. Hungary, unprepared with money, arms and troops, and not expecting to be called on to make resistance, was entangled in a net of treachery, and was obliged to defend itself against this threatened annihilation with the aid of volunteers, national guards, and an undisciplined unarmed levy "en masse," aided

by the few regular troops which remained in the country. In open battles the Hungarians have, however, been successful, but they could not rapidly enough put down the Servian rebels, and those of the military frontier, who were led by officers devoted to Austria, and were enabled to take refuge behind entrenched positions.

It was necessary to provide a new armed force. The king, still pretending to yield to the undeniably lawful demands of the nation, had summoned a new Diet for the 2nd of July, 1848, and had called upon the representatives of the nation to provide soldiers and money for the suppression of the Servian and Croatian rebellion, and the re-establishment of public peace. He at the same time issued a solemn proclamation in his own name, and in that of his family, condemning and denouncing the Croatian and Servian rebellion. The necessary steps were taken by the Diet. A levy of 200,000 men, and a subsidy of 40,000,000 of florins were voted as the necessary force, and the bills were laid before the King for the royal sanction. At the same moment the Hungarians gave an unexampled proof of their loyalty, by inviting the King, who had fled to Innspruck, to go to Pest, and by his presence tranquillize the people, trusting to the loyalty of the Hungarians, who had shown themselves at all times the best supports of the throne.

This request was proffered in vain, for Radetzky had in the meantime been victorious in Italy. The house of Hapsburg-Lorraine, restored to confidence by that victory, thought the time come to take off the mask and to involve Hungary, still bleeding from past wounds, in the horrors of a fresh war of oppression.

The King from that moment began to address the man whom he himself had branded as a rebel, as "dear and loyal" (Lieber Getreuer); he praised him for having revolted, and encouraged him to proceed in the path he had entered upon.

He expressed a like sympathy for the Servian rebels, whose hands yet reeked from the massacres they had perpetrated. It was under this command that the Ban of Croatia, after being proclaimed as a rebel, assembled an army, and announced his commission from the King to carry fire and sword into Hungary, upon which the Austrian troops stationed in the country united with him. The commanders of the fortresses, Esseg, Temeswar and Karlsburg, and the commanders of the forces in the Banat and in Transylvania, breaking their oaths taken to the country, treacherously surrendered their trusts; a Slovack clergyman with the commission of colonel, who had fraternized at Vienna with the revolted Czechs, broke into Hungary, and the rebel Croat leader advanced with confidence, through an unprepared country, to occupy its capital, expecting that the army in Hungary would not oppose him.

Even then the Diet did not give up all confidence in the power of the royal oath, and the King was once more requested to order the rebels to quit the country. The answer given was a reference to a manifesto of the Austrian ministry, declaring it to be their determination to deprive the Hungarian nation of the independent management of their financial, commercial, and war affairs. The King at the same time refused his assent to the laws submitted for approval respecting the troops and the subsidy for covering the expenditure.

Upon this the Hungarian ministers resigned, but the

names submitted by the President of the Council, at the demand of the King, were not approved of for successors. The Diet then, bound by its duty to secure the interests of the country, voted the supplies, and ordered the troops to be levied. The nation obeyed the summons with readiness.

The representatives of the people then summoned the nephew of the Emperor to join the camp, and as Palatine to lead the troops against the rebels. He not only obeyed the summons, but made public professions of his devotion to the cause. As soon, however, as an engagement threatened, he fled secretly from the camp and the country like a coward traitor. Amongst his papers a plan formed by him some time previously was found, according to which Hungary was to be simultaneously attacked on nine sides at once—from Styria, Austria, Moravia, Silesia, Galicia, and Transylvania.

From a correspondence with the Minister of War, seized at the same time, it was discovered that the commanding generals in the military frontier and the Austrian provinces adjoining Hungary had received orders to enter Hungary, and to support the rebels with their united forces.

The attack from nine points at once really began. The most painful aggression took place in Transylvania, for the traitorous commander in that district did not content himself with the practices considered lawful in war by disciplined troops. He stirred up the Wallachian peasants to take arms against their own constitutional rights, and, aided by the rebellious Servian hordes, commenced a course of Vandalism and extinction, sparing neither women, children, nor aged men; murdering and torturing the defenceless Hungarian inhabi-

tants; burning the most flourishing villages, and towns amongst which, Nagy-Enyed, the seat of learning for Transylvania, was reduced to a heap of ruins.

But the Hungarian nation, although taken by surprise, unarmed and unprepared, did not abandon its future prospects in any agony of despair.

Measures were immediately taken to increase the small standing army by volunteers and the levy of the people. These troops, supplying the want of experience by the enthusiasm arising from the feeling that they had right on their side, defeated the Croatian armies and drove them out of the country.

The defeated army fled towards Vienna.

One of their leaders appealed, after an unsuccessful fight, to the generosity of the Hungarians for a truce, which he used to escape by night and surreptitiously with his beaten troops; the other corps, of more than 10,000 men, was surrounded and taken prisoners, from the general to the last private.

The defeated army fled in the direction of Vienna, where the Emperor continued his demoralizing policy, and nominated the beaten and flying rebel as his plenipotentiary and substitute in Hungary, suspending by this act the constitution and institutions of the country, all its authorities, courts of justice and tribunals, laying the kingdom under martial law, and placing in the hand and under the unlimited authority of a rebel, the honour, the property, and the lives of the people—in the hand of a man who, with armed bands, had braved the laws, and attacked the constitution of the country.

But the House of Austria was not contented with this unjustifiable violation of oaths taken by its head.

The rebellious Ban was placed under the protection of the troops stationed near Vienna, and commanded by Prince Windischgrätz. These troops, after taking Vienna by storm, were led as an Imperial Austrian army to conquer Hungary. But the Hungarian nation, persisting in its loyalty, sent an envoy to the advancing enemy. This envoy, coming under a flag of truce, was treated as a prisoner and thrown into prison. No heed was paid to the remonstrances and the demands of the Hungarian nation for justice. The threat of the gallows, was, on the contrary, thundered against all who had taken arms in defence of a wretched and oppressed country. But before the army had time to enter Hungary, a family revolution in the tyrannical reigning House was perpetrated at Olmütz. Ferdinand V. was forced to resign a throne which had been polluted with so much blood and perjury, and the son of Francis Charles, who also abdicated his claim to the inheritance, the youthful Archduke Francis Joseph, caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary. But no one but the Hungarian nation can, by compacts, dispose of the constitutional throne of Hungary.

At this critical moment the Hungarian nation demanded nothing more than the maintenance of its laws and institutions, and peace guaranteed by their integrity. Had the assent of the nation to this change in the occupant of the throne been asked in a legal manner, and the young Prince offered to take the customary oath that he would preserve the Constitution, the Hungarian nation would not have refused to elect him King, in accordance with the treaties

extant, and to crown him with St. Stephen's crown before he had dipped his hand in the blood of his people.

He, however, refusing to perform an act so sacred in the eyes of God and man, and in strange contrast to the innocence natural to youthful breasts, declared in his first words his intention of conquering Hungary, which he dared to call a rebellious country, although he himself had raised rebellion there, and of depriving it of that independence which it had maintained for a thousand years, to incorporate it into the Austrian monarchy.

And he has but too well laboured to keep his word. He ordered the army under Windischgrätz to enter Hungary, and, at the same time, directed several corps of troops to attack the country from Galicia and Styria. Hungary resisted the projected invasion, but being unable to make head against so many countries at once on account of the devastation carried on in several parts of the interior by the excited rebels, and being thus prevented from displaying its whole power of defence, the troops were, in the first instance, obliged to retire. To save the capital from the horrors of a storm like that to which Prague and Vienna had mercilessly been exposed, and not to place the fortunes of a nation—which deserved better—on the die of a pitched battle, for which there had not been sufficient preparation, the capital was abandoned, and the Diet and national Government removed, in January last, to Debreczen, trusting to the help of a just God, and to the energies of the nation, to prevent the cause from being lost, even when it should be seen that the capital was given up. Thanks be to Heaven, the cause was not lost!

But even then an attempt was made to bring about a peaceful arrangement, and a deputation was sent to the generals of the perjured dynasty. This house, in its blind self-confidence, refused to enter into any negotiation, and dared to demand an unconditional submission from the nation. The deputation was further detained, and one of the number, the former president of the ministry, was even thrown into prison. The deserted capital was occupied, and was turned into a place of execution; a part of the prisoners of war were there consigned to the scaffold, another part were thrown into dungeons, while the remainder were forced to enter the ranks of the army in Italy.

The measure of the crimes of the Austrian house was, however, filled up, when—after its defeat—it applied for help to the Emperor of Russia; and, in spite of the remonstrances and protestations of the Porte, and of the consuls of the European powers at Bucharest, in defiance of international rights, and to the endangering of the balance of power in Europe, caused the Russian troops stationed in Wallachia to be led into Transylvania, for the destruction of the Hungarian nation.

Three months ago we were driven back upon the Tisza; our just arms have already recovered all Transylvania; Clausenburg, Hermanstadt, and Cronstadt are taken; one portion of the troops of Austria is driven into the Bukowina, another, together with the Russian force sent to aid them, is totally defeated, and to the last man obliged to evacuate Transylvania, and to flee into Wallachia. Upper Hungary is cleared of foes.

The Servian rebellion is further suppressed; the forts of St. Tama's and the Roman entrenchment have been

taken by storm, and the whole country between the Danube and the Tisza, including the county of Bacs, has been recovered for the nation.

The commander-in-chief of the perjured House of Austria has himself been defeated in five consecutive battles, and has with his whole army been driven back upon and even over the Danube.

Founding a line of conduct upon all these occurrences, and confiding in the justice of an eternal God, we, in the face of the civilized world, in reliance upon the natural rights of the Hungarian nation, and upon the power it has developed to maintain them, further impelled by that sense of duty which urges every nation to defend its existence, do hereby declare and proclaim in the name of the nation legally represented by us the following:—

1st. Hungary, with Transylvania, as legally united with it, and its dependencies, are hereby declared to constitute a free independent sovereign state. The territorial unity of this state is declared to be inviolable, and its territory to be indivisible.

2nd. The House of Hapsburg-Lorraine—having, by treachery, perjury, and levying of war against the Hungarian nation, as well as by its outrageous violation of all compacts, in breaking up the integral territory of the kingdom, in the separation of Transylvania, Croatia, Sclavonia, Fiume, and its districts from Hungary—further, by compassing the destruction of the independence of the country by arms, and by calling in the disciplined army of a foreign power, for the purpose of annihilating its nationality, by violation both of the Pragmatic Sanction and of treaties concluded between Austria and Hungary, on which the alliance between the two countries depended—is, as treacherous and per-

jured, for ever excluded from the throne of the united states of Hungary and Transylvania, and all their possessions and dependencies, and is hereby deprived of the style and title, as well as of the armorial bearings belonging to the crown of Hungary, and declared to be banished for ever from the united countries and their dependencies and possessions. They are therefore declared to be deposed, degraded, and banished for ever from the Hungarian territory.

3rd. The Hungarian nation, in the exercise of its rights and sovereign will, being determined to assume the position of a free and independent state amongst the nations of Europe, declares it to be its intention to establish and maintain friendly and neighbourly relations with those states with which it was formerly united under the same sovereign, as well as to contract alliances with all other nations.

4th. The form of government to be adopted for the future will be fixed by the Diet of the nation.

But until this point shall be decided, on the basis of the ancient and received principles which have been recognized for ages, the government of the united countries, their possessions and dependencies, shall be conducted on personal responsibility, and under the obligation to render an account of all acts by Louis Kossuth, who has by acclamation, and with the unanimous approbation of the Diet of the nation, been named Governing President (Gubernator) and the ministers whom he shall appoint.

And this resolution of ours we shall proclaim and make known to all the nations of the civilized world, with the conviction that the Hungarian nation will be received by them amongst the free and independent nations of

the world, with the same friendship and free acknowledgment of its rights which the Hungarians proffer to other countries.

We also hereby proclaim and make known to all the inhabitants of the united states of Hungary and Transylvania, and their dependencies, that all authorities, communes, towns, and the civil officers both in the counties and cities, are completely set free and released from all the obligations under which they stood, by oath or otherwise, to the said House of Hapsburg-Lorraine, and that any individual daring to contravene this decree, and by word or deed in any way to aid or abet any one violating it, shall be treated and punished as guilty of high treason. And by the publication of this decree, we hereby bind and oblige all the inhabitants of these countries to obedience to the Government now instituted formally, and endowed with all necessary legal powers.

DEBRECZEN, APRIL, 14, 1849.

VI.

EXPOSÉ OF THE AUSTRO-RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN IN HUNGARY.

FROM A CIRCULAR DESPATCH OF PRINCE WITTGENSTEIN, D. D. FRANKFORT, 21st JULY, 1849.

Baron Budberg saw the Prince Paskiewitch at Warsaw. The principal reason for the delay in the opening of the campaign may be found in the circumstance that the Russian Field-Marshal, according to the method he acquired in Asia and Poland, refused to move his troops before he had provided a comfortable and sufficient victualling establishment for his army.

The Field-Marshal calculates that the resistance of the Hungarians will be broken within two months after his march across the Gallician frontier from Dukla, that is to say, that within six weeks from the present day, nothing will remain to be done but to pacify the country.

The Russian Ambassador at Berlin has stated that from 40,000 to 50,000 men of the auxiliary army are to remain in Hungary, while the measures of pacification would of course be left to the Austrian troops.

Baron Geringer, who has been attached to General Haynau, as Civil Commissioner for Hungary, is a cautious and distinguished man.

It appears that in Berlin the Russians are suspected

of an intention to relieve the Austrian empire by a partial occupation of Hungary and Transylvania, and to enable Austria to spare some troops for the protection of her interests in Germany. It is to be regretted that this language reminds us of the worst days of German dissensions.

The following are some authentic statements on the statistics of the contending armies:

The Magyar and Polish insurgents amount to 140,000 men. Of these there are in opposition to the Imperial army round and in Komorn and the mining districts, 80,000 men, under the rebel chief, Görgey, the remainder is in four or five small corps, under various Hungarian and Polish Generals, opposed to armies of the Field-Marshal Paskiewitch and the Ban of Croatia.

The Austro-Russian army amounts to double the numbers of the insurgents, that is to say, to 200,000 men, of which 80,000, under General Haynau, are in the environs of Komorn, while 100,000 men, under the immediate command of Prince Paskiewitch, are on the road from Krakaw to Pest.

The reason why the Russian army had not taken Pest on the 2nd or 3rd inst., and why that city was probably taken on the 6th or 7th, lies not in the resistance of the enemy, for it appears from reports of the Field-Marshal's advanced guard, that the corps of Dembinski which opposed them, and which numbered 20,000 men, has by desertion and disorganization dwindled away to half that number.

The Field-Marshal, adhering to his system, has stopped for three or four days at Mistkolz, to allow his commissariat to come up. During this halt, he has

detached a corps of twenty-five battalions and thirty squadrons to Debreczin, for the purpose of making a certain moral impression by the occupation of the late focus of the rebellion.

The dissensions between Görgey and the ultra-Magyar party, on the one hand, and Kossuth and the Poles, on the other, have now become pretty potent.*

It is but fair to presume that Görgey, with the bulk of the Hungarian army, remained in and round Komorn, for the special purpose of not being compelled to co-operate with Kossuth and the Poles, and *for the purpose of treating with the Imperialist Generals, as soon as his retreat is cut off by the occupation of Pest and the country on the banks of the Theiss.*

At Vienna, they have reason to believe *that Görgey will treat and surrender within the next fortnight,* and the sudden rise in the Austrian funds show the firm confidence of the public.

Nevertheless, from a military point of view, the position of the Hungarians is undoubtedly strong, confined as they are in an entrenched camp leaning on the fortress of Komorn, and with two 'têtes-de-pont' on the Danube and the Waag; and an army of 80,000 men in such a position is always formidable if properly victualled. But it is asserted that a typhus fever is raging in Komorn, * * * * *

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[The end of this sentence is unfit for publication.]

* The peculiar style of this despatch may be explained, but not excused, by reminding the reader that it proceeded from the pen of Prince Wittgenstein.

VII.

DETAILS OF THE HUNGARIAN EMIGRATION AT WIDDIN, BY AN EYE-WITNESS.

LETTER TO MADAME PULSZKY.

"Dear Madame.

"On referring to my private letter to your husband, which you propose to publish, I see no serious objection to your doing so, if you do not find any in its gossipping tone and somewhat incoherent style.

"It contains, indeed, some remarks that might appear disrespectful towards an illustrious exile, whom I am desirous of treating—especially since his fall—with all the deference I feel.

"But when I remember that it is of a Hungarian I am speaking, and that that Hungarian is Kossuth, *I* have sufficient knowledge of the magnanimity of your people, and of its great representative, to feel assured that I shall not be misconstrued, and that he would be the first to encourage the unreserved expression of an honest opinion on a public man, however unfavourable to himself.

"Wishing your book all the success which its great merits deserve,

"I am, dear Madame,

"Your obedient servant,

"THE AUTHOR OF REVELATIONS OF RUSSIA."

LONDON, FEB. 14, 1850.

LETTER FROM THE AUTHOR OF "REVELATIONS OF RUSSIA" TO FRANCIS PULSZKY.

"Dear Sir,

"I proceed, in fulfilment of my promise, to give you some account of the Emigration. At the beginning of October, having learned in the centre of Turkey that the late government of Hungary and the remains of the armies of Bem and Dembinski were at Widdin, I hastened thither. I must remark, that throughout, and at the opposite extremity of Turkey, the Hungarian question excited a degree of interest amongst Turks, Greeks and Albanians, perhaps unprecedented with these populations. The Mahommedans universally regard your compatriots as anti-Russian heroes. Amongst the Turks, I found prevalent the belief in their consanguinity with the Magyars, and the Christian rayas of the West and South, notwithstanding the efforts of Greek priests and Latin bishops, expressed strong sympathies, for a people resisting oppression and bearding in the field the Emperor and the Tsar. The wildest tales were current amongst these people, but

Kossuth, and occasionally Bem, were the only names known in connection with the struggle.

Kossuth Effendi was sometimes represented to act as a second Roustan, wise in council and just in judgment, but scattering hosts with his red scymitar. Rumour had in fact added to his great qualifications, others of an opposite nature and fused the characteristics of Bem into a common reputation with his own. A traveller, twenty years conversant with the East, made to me the remark that no renown, since Bonaparte's, has spread so widely and rapidly amongst the Orientals. As I approached the Danube, the predominance of the Bulgarian and Serbian element, and the knowledge of the result of the contest, rendered both the manifestation of these sympathies less vivid, and the contest less absorbing. When the news came of Görgey's surrender, one old Turk, holding a high official situation, shed tears in my presence and said, that God was punishing the Osmanlees for not having had the courage to interfere, when the Russians and Austrians assembled in the Turkish principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia; and another—an old man, sent orders to his agent to invest his property in the purchase of an estate near Damascus as he now believed that, wherever his bones were laid on this side the Bosphorus, the Muscovite would disturb them. In Serbia where every passing Frank is now taken for a Hungarian, the inhabitants rushed to their doors, shouting "Magyar! Magyar!" and staring at me in wonderment. Three months before the life of a Magyar, (as I learned afterwards,) would not have been safe in these villages. Now they are regarded with a sullen respect. Twenty thousand Ser-

bian freebooters, hired by Austria, to devastate and plunder, had crossed the Danube and rendered important service to the Imperial cause. Of these, some three thousand had returned laden with plunder. Thousands of ducats, hundreds of waggon-loads of booty, and sheep by tens of thousands, had been brought back by these adventurers; but seventeen thousand of their number had been slaughtered by the Magyars, who every now and then, stormed their entrenchments, or surprised them in the open field. The Serbs admitted readily enough the prowess of their opponents, but above all, were everywhere impressed with the belief that they had fought on the wrong side. Widdin is situated in a marshy plain on the right bank of the Danube. The city is wide, and straggling gardens and cultivated patches intervene between the houses within its rampart enclosure. The fortress or citadel, is an inner town, surrounded by a moat and rudely fortified. At the city gate my passport was demanded, and my arms were asked for the first time in the Turkish dominions. Whilst my Arnaut was debating this point, and the guard preparing to accompany me to the Pacha, I spurred forward up to the citadel, in which I had gathered that M. Kossuth resided or was confined, and addressed myself to the first group of Hungarians I met upon a small triangular place, built apparently around a well. "You wish, probably, to see the President-Governor? He lives there," said the individual I questioned, pointing opposite, "and there he comes." As I alighted from my horse, I stood face to face with M. Kossuth.

M. Kossuth looked harassed and in low spirits. It would be superfluous to give you any description

of his person; but have you seen his portraiture in the Austrian 'Hue and Cry,' which I subjoin? It is seldom that a likeness, when flattering, is so accurately painted by an enemy.

M. Kossuth's first remark to me was, "that my letters would have possessed for him the highest interest, if they had reached him at Szegedin; but where he was, could be of only slight importance." His observation on perusing them was "too late, too late!"—that fatal *too late* which has been the bane of Hungary! Discouraging as this uncompromising frankness of M. Kossuth's often is, and impolitic as I once thought it, I have come to doubt whether it has not more than counteracting advantages, from the confidence which the expression of his satisfaction inspires.

For those accustomed to the conventional "grimacing" of men in office, there is, at all events, ample compensation for this bluntness in the unusual significance it gives to all expression on his part of confidence or approbation.

I returned with Kossuth into his dwelling, and will at once proceed to narrate to you how he was lodged and treated. A mud wall with heavy oaken gates separated from the street (or rather from the triangle I have mentioned) this habitation, which consisted of a single apartment—the reception room of its owner—whose real abode was in the chambers of his harem, a separate building in an inner court. On account of this custom, the best houses in provincial Turkish towns afford but little accommodation to male visitors, the reception-room, which is accessible to the public, being little more cared for, even by officials of rank, than with us the

chambers, or the office in the Inns-of-Court, or bye-lanes of the city, by the luxurious lawyer, or the opulent merchant. Kossuth's *char-à-banc* was in a narrow yard. Two Hussars were grooming his horses under an open shed, and the owner of the house, a portly Turk, was sitting on a small platform smoking his chibouque complacently. Colonel Asboth, the young Count Dembinski, and his interpreter, constituted all the attendance for which his single chamber afforded possible accommodation. This one room was of tolerable size, surrounded on three sides by a divan, and covered for about three-fourths of its extent by a carpet, on the edge of which inferiors in rank and the Albanian servitors of the host deposited their yellow boots or red slippers before trespassing on its precincts. Cloaks, papers, bridles, and the contents of Kossuth's slender baggage, were exposed in great disorder about the divan, which constituted at night the bed of the ex-president, governor, his secretary, and interpreter. Three wooden chairs and a small deal table were the only articles of furniture introduced in honour of the guest.

Kossuth's host was chief of the police;—a Turkish officer was in attendance to accompany him whenever he walked out on foot, a horse soldier in case he chose to ride, and two or three Albanian attendants brought in, as he called for it, ice-water, or the chibouque. Under the pretence of solicitude for his safety and marks of honour, it was clear that M. Kossuth was closely watched, and all his applications for a more convenient lodging were, at this time, neglected or evaded.

Kossuth's dinner was brought in. It consisted of a Hungarian dish cooked by the wife of a Hungarian

soldier. It was served in a brown earthenware dish, and partaken of with an iron spoon. After dinner, Count Dembinski came back with his Countess, and the conversation took a lighter turn.

Within the precincts of the fort, or citadel, I found Meszaros, the Perczels, Bem, old Dembinski, Guyon, Count Zamoyski, Mr. Longworth, and a number of officers lodged. Outside the fortress, but within the city walls, Count Casimir Batthyanyi, his lady, his cousin, and many more Hungarians, were quartered. The soldiers, the Polish and Italian legions, were encamped on the shore of the Danube. The camp was surrounded on three sides by a cordon of Turkish infantry, and the refugees were permitted to circulate wherever they pleased within the enclosure formed by the camp and the city.—To pass beyond the gates, even with escort, into the open country was, however, a favour only occasionally claimed by the Batthyányis.

The reception given to the emigrants by the Turkish authorities was at first cordial enough: but it was the misfortune of the Porte to have its good intentions for a long time frustrated by its servitors. Corruption in Turkey principally exists, as I need hardly explain to you, in the highest classes; but even in this respect society widely differs from the aspect it presents in Austria or Russia, where all have been debased to the same level, and are almost equally corruptible. In Turkey, if one man in power is a rogue, his next neighbour perhaps exhibits the most rigid political integrity, and is equally proof against attempts at seduction, and incapable of inhospitable fraud. The Pachas, for instance, of Belgrade and of Nissa, are true upright Turks, but the Pacha and authorities of

Widdin, happened unfortunately to be under Russian and Austrian influence, and as an almost natural consequence did not hesitate to turn aside from their guests, for their personal profit, the stream of the Sultan's bounty. In the camp, provisions, it is true, were distributed, but the soldiers, without bed, clothing, firewood, or even hay to lie upon, suffered terribly from the cold, and no less than 360 perished out of some 5000 from the cholera, which was raging amongst them. Every day the dead cart, with its creaking wheels and heavy oxen rolled over the rugged streets with its ghastly load.

Guyon, who had the command of the camp, complained constantly to the Pacha, but could obtain no redress. The Turkish population showed unprecedented sympathy with these Magyars and Poles, whose renown had filled the East; but the Bulgarians and Wallachs, from the other side, looked on them as men doomed to sacrifice, and sure to be given up to their enemies on the peremptory demand of the irresistible Tsar.

Kossuth hardly ever went out, and never showed himself in the camp. He could promise them nothing, "not even personal safety," he said, and he would give them no assurances which were not strictly warranted. Of Görgey, Kossuth spoke with much and perhaps studied moderation. It is true, that Kossuth, who raised him from the dust, is responsible in a great measure to his country for this man's actions. Of his treachery, it appears that Kossuth was the last to be convinced, though at a very early period he discovered that he was manœuvring rather against the Diet and himself than against the enemy. But Kossuth thought

that his very ambition would prompt him at all events to save the country if he could; and after the battle of Kapolna, offered on that condition to give him up the government, and was answered by a sneer. Kossuth, in fact, mistook for ambition what in fact was overpowering envy, and this miscalculation, together with one amiable weakness, were fatal to your cause. Kossuth neither could, would, nor ever did sign a death-warrant, and he conceived Görgey to have so great an influence with his army, that no other remedy remained but his violent removal. In reality, this influence of Görgey's existed only with some sixty officers, his creatures, or his dupes, who dreamed a military despotism in a country essentially parliamentary; but the masses always remained firm in their fidelity to the Diet. It was probably vexation at the little progress he could really make, which chafed Görgey's wayward temper into surrender, and that surrender he could never venture to propose till he had abandoned half his army to be beaten in detail, and discouraged the other by retreating many hundred miles. Even thus it required the results of the battle of Temesvar to render his treachery feasible.

The chiefs of the emigration, at this time, saw very little of each other, but remained principally confined to their respective domiciles. This arose, no doubt, from the uncertainty in which they lived, being cut off from all communication or intelligence with the world beyond Widdin—their inability to give any information to the crowd of refugees, the distance between the citadel, the town, and camp, and the condition of the unpaved streets, in which the deep mud never seemed to dry.

Meszaros, I found living with Dembinski, who complains with justice of having lost the battle of Kapolna, which otherwise undoubtedly he would have won, through the defection of Görgey, who abandoned his positions, and then held a council of war with his officers on Dembinski, his Commander-in-chief, whom he arrested, and deprived of his command, with the sanction of M. Szemere, the Commissioner of the Diet. Kossuth, on his arrival, enforced the resignation of Dembinski, but did not appoint Görgey, as he expected, in Dembinski's place. This is naturally enough a sore point with Dembinski, who does not take into account that Görgey held in his hand, at that time, the sword of Hungary, that Szemere sanctioned the proceedings of the court-martial, because, convened without him, it otherwise opened a schism between the army and the Diet, and that Kossuth was bound by what his Commissary had done. Kossuth, in fact, who was deeply pained at the necessity, on this occasion made Görgey, who had been acting in contempt of his authority, the offer to give up to him his own position, if he would continue energetically to work out the salvation of his country. Kossuth preferred even the military despotism, which was Görgey's aim, to the subjugation of Hungary: he did not hesitate to sacrifice himself to the cause of his country's independence, and therefore would not peril it in an uncertain attempt to redress Dembinski's unquestionable grievance. Dembinski, who has all his life scrupulously refused to interfere in politics, maintains more strictly than ever the same rule, and is therefore voluntarily without influence with the Polish portion of the emigration.

Count Casimir Batthyányi was lodged in the outer

town with his lady. Their house was one of the best and cleanest at this period, but afforded them only the accommodation of one room and kiosk, and another in which their servants were quartered. Their horses were obliged to be kept half a mile off at the Khan. A Turkish lieutenant of cavalry, and a horse soldier, were always at the door to accompany them when they rode out, as guard of honour. Countess Batthyányi, and Countess Dembinski, were the only two ladies accompanying the emigration, and as the husband of Madame Dembinski was all day in attendance on Kossuth, she afterwards presided at his table—when circumstances enabled him to exchange his earthen dish and iron spoon, to keep a table, at which, if homely, his suite and all visitors were entertained with Hungarian hospitality.

General Bem was suffering still, when I first saw him, from illness and from wounds. He is both an older man than I thought him, and remarkably old-looking for his age. I heard much of his exploits. His temerity throws that of Charles the Twelfth into the shade. His conquest of Transylvania is, perhaps, the most wonderful military achievement upon record. Nothing is more striking than the exceeding placidity and mildness of his tone and manner, and its effect in the midst of scenes of the most intense excitement has been very great, in inspiring men with whom he knows no language in common. On one instance, the *whole* of his staff was shot down, or swept away by charging horse, and Bem was obliged to lie *perdu* in a ditch, among the dead, till the storm had passed over, when he rose up, and rubbing his hands, proceeded, without discomposure, to put a new staff together. But as far as I have

been enabled to judge, I think Bem's successes to have been more due to his just contempt for the Austrian and Russian generals, than to combination—his reverses owing to his recklessness. In war he acts more like the bold gamester than an ingenious speculator, and his career will probably always be one of dazzling successes, or of rapid misfortune. I do not know whether you are aware that, at Temesvar, he was very nearly retrieving matters. A short time after he had assumed the command, he ordered battle along the whole line. Till four in the afternoon, he carried everything before him. The last reserves of Austrian and Russian cavalry had been driven back headlong by Guyon; and Haynau, you may take it as a fact, had fairly run away, and was six or seven miles from the field. It required a series of accidents to turn the fortune of the day, which, if won, no doubt Bem would wonderfully have improved. If Haynau had been routed, Görgey would not have dared surrender, and Bem, with the united forces, would have been down upon Paskevitch before he could have turned.

Nevertheless, this battle is a great blot on the military reputation of Bem, who went into action without knowing what he had to work with, and pushed forward, so to say, in a steeple-chase, playing with his cannon the part of Murat with his horse, till stopped in full career by actual want of ammunition!

The circumstances and the sequel of the battle are in some respects condemnatory of all the chief actors on both sides. Dembinski was ruining the army by retreating; Haynau proved that discretion was the better part of valour; Kossuth shewed the weakness of yielding to the exigence of Görgey, by resigning to him the

presidency: Görgey seized the opportunity to work out his long premeditated treason, and there remains only Paskievitch who played his part without error; but we should remember that he had only the same easy part to play as those stage heroes who press an adversary, making a sham defence, and only waiting the opportunity of being killed with decency. I know that it was hard for Kossuth to have acted otherwise than he did, or to have foreseen the unexampled turpitude of his creature and rival. I know that Dembinski points to the result of the battle as a proof it should not have been fought. I know that Bem urges that he went into action with men and horses, who had not tasted food or provender for four-and-twenty hours; and I feel that Haynau might excuse himself by the incontrovertible allegation that nothing but a series of unforeseen accidents could have prevented him from falling into the hands of the Hungarians, if he had not run away, and that even at that period his barbarities had rendered this a consummation far from desirable for him. But you may gather from this, that even at this last stage to which the earlier disobedience of Görgey had reduced the cause, it was far from being such a "hollow thing" as from a distance it might seem, and that a little of that fortune which has been so consistently unpropitious to your countrymen would even at the eleventh hour have turned the tables.

Bem, considering himself wholly a Hungarian officer, has sank the Pole, and unquestionably he has established for himself a second nationality with the Transylvanian portion at least, of the Hungarian people. Count Zamoyski, who had much distinguished himself, and who was still confined to his room, I found within the

precincts of the citadel. Zamoyski, who represents the Czartoryski interest, and, as you know, may be said to personify the conservative and monarchical principle, was, to my surprise, on the most intimate terms with General Visocki, the democratic leader and commander of the Polish legion. I was struck and pleased by the practical good sense of this fusion in a common interest of extreme opinions, which was so sincere, that Visocki, by his example and influence, caused the whole democratic party to join the minority of opposite opinion in recognising Zamoyski as the Chief of the Polish portion of the Emigration.

General Perczel lived very retired with his brother. The inferior officers had established a casino, in which they spent their evenings, so that their former superiors were frequently quite alone. I found Perczel in this predicament reading by an oil-lamp at a plain deal-table. Of the violence and exaggeration of language, by which his patriotism and courage are said to be tarnished, I perceived nothing. On the contrary, I never met with a man more modest, or moderate, than on that and subsequent occasions he proved himself. This would be my evidence, if we are to speak of men only "as we find them," though possibly the chafed popular leader, and irritated partisan chief, may have been a very different personage from the inactive exile.

Guyon lived in the same building with Generals Kmetty and Stein. He had with him about eight-and-twenty of his officers, and was accompanied by Mr. Longworth, the Circassian traveller, who was a captain on his staff. One of my first attempts was to collect and compare evidence on these campaigns, map in hand, and much as I was on my guard against the

unconscious predilections one might entertain for a countryman of whom I had much reason to be proud, I came to the deliberate conclusion that, notwithstanding his popularity, full justice has neither been done to Guyon in England, nor by your countrymen.

They attribute to him always the most chivalrous honour, and the most reckless valour, but by implication hardly appear to allow him anything else. Guyon had the misfortune to have almost commenced his career by being misled when marching upon Tyrnau; he had the merit of having subsequently fought and won some of the most desperate actions of the war, and of having penetrated, and opposed the designs of Görgey. Görgey could not deny what the whole army had seen; but to counteract its effects, gave out that Guyon was a mere headlong swordsman

But in fact, I doubt whether Bem does not much more nearly approach what Guyon is supposed to be, and whether Guyon is not what we thought Bem. Guyon has certainly been the "*Chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*" of these campaigns. The first to cross the frontier in the war with Austria, he refused indignantly to the last all compromise, which had not for its basis the full recognition of the constitutional rights of Hungary. When Görgey originally retreated before Windischgrätz and Guyon commanded under him, Görgey only fought to be beaten, and retreated without attempting anything. Guyon, without support or instructions from his chief, manœuvred in the most masterly and successful manner, and terminated by defeating in the Branizko Pass with 10,000 Magyars, Schlick, the best of the Austrian Generals, holding with 15,000 picked troops the strongest positions in Hun-

gary. This action, one of the most sanguinary upon record for the numbers engaged, and which may be defined as a series of assaults against a superior force saved both the army of Görgey, and for the time the cause of Hungary; but Görgey, on hearing of it, remarked only with a sneer that the Hungarians had more fortune than wit, and neglected to take the co-operative measures which Guyon pointed out, thereby wilfully permitting Schlick to escape from otherwise inevitable destruction. I do not know whether you are aware that after this campaign, Guyon positively refused on any terms to serve under Görgey, whom only in deference to Kossuth he was prevented from publicly attacking as either an imbecile or a traitor. This was the cause of Guyon's appointment to the command of Comorn, which being then invested, he only entered after almost miraculous adventures.

In the Banat, Guyon finally defeated and drove out with a very inferior force the Croatian Bobadil Jellachich, who left 4000 dead upon the field, and never reappeared on that bank of the Danube as long as the war lasted. The chief fault of Guyon seems to be, that when the plans he proposes are not accepted he will not say a word further to urge them, but "*shuts up*," and allows things to take their course, contented with the fulfilment of his individual duty. Guyon has been throughout unshaken in his fidelity to the Diet, and to Kossuth, its representative, and this was doubtless a chief cause of the animosity towards him by Görgey, who on several occasions seems purposely to have abandoned him to be cut off, as he did afterwards Nagy-Sandor.

Guyon and Count Casimir Batthyanyi were at this time the most frequent visitors at Kossuth's; and

as Guyon had become very Hungarian, I do not know whether Batthyányi was not most English of the two. The purity with which English was spoken and written by many of the refugees, who had never been out of Hungary, the English blood of the Hungarian horses about Widdin, and the English saddles almost universally used, were very striking in that remote corner of Europe, and trivial as the signs might seem, were highly characteristic of the predilection of your compatriots for this country.

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At length a light broke in upon the ignorance in which the emigration had so long been pining; but it was far from being, I assure you, a cheering ray. Letters from Constantinople informed us that the autocrat had despatched his autograph to the Padischa demanding the extradition of the refugees. Austria, of course, concurred in the demand, but this I had almost forgotten to mention, so little attention is now paid to Austria in the East, and so thoroughly is she regarded as a Russian Satrapy. A stormy debate had followed in the Divan, where Reschid and the majority of the ministry were against, but the majority of the council in favour of compliance, as an unavoidable necessity. A cabal to overturn Reschid was at this time on foot. At length, Reschid fearing the turn things were taking, said, "What if they turn Mahomedans?" This was a startling hypothesis which made the difficulty a dilemma; the Turkish law being the Koran, which condemns as an unpardonable crime the delivery of a true Mussulman to his enemies. Sir Stratford Canning, you will remember, had recommended to the Porte not to comply with the demands

of his neighbours, but could give no pledge of assistance in the event of his advice, if followed, drawing down aggression.

Now abandoned as the Turks have been by this country on the innumerable occasions when Russia has interfered in accordance with her interests, and to the detriment and humiliation of the Porte on the strength of purposely equivocal clauses which the cabinet of St. Petersburg includes in all its treaties, it is not wonderful that Turkey should cease to place faith in any but the most positive assurances of support. The apathetic policy, to call it by no other name, pursued by the late administration, was the most detrimental possible to British interests, which are precisely the interests both of the Turkish population, and of the Porte. This policy Lord Palmerston was forced, in a great measure, to accept through the ignorance, and indifference of the public on foreign questions,—the indifference permitting the Foreign Secretary mischievously to interfere on some occasions, whilst depriving him of due support when seemingly he seemed disposed to act with beneficial vigour. The policy of Lord Aberdeen seems simply to have been to render himself agreeable to the despotic courts in the ratio of their pretensions, and of their power; and as both Russia and Austria had long regarded Turkey with very wolfish longings, to please them he resolutely shut his eyes to their encroachments. Lord Palmerston seems to act on the perfectly sound conviction that Turkey, during the last few years, has been rapidly gaining strength, and that—whatever some even of our liberals may imagine—is, undoubtedly, the case; but his Lordship's conduct is, at the same time, obviously inspired by the belief (which, however logical

at the first blush, is entirely the reverse of fact), that because Turkey is so much stronger than a few years ago, she will, in a few years more, be so far further strengthened, as to be able to make head against her northern neighbours, providing that, meanwhile, she can only stave off war by any imaginable concessions.

Now the fact is, that though Turkey is now infinitely more powerful than five years back, she will be no more vigorous five years hence; but, on the contrary, much weakened, unless she shews at once a bold front to Russia, whose intrigues bar all farther possible improvement, whilst the timidity shewn hitherto by the Porte enables her to overawe, and alienate the Christian population.

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Under these circumstances, I confess frankly that whatever I might have done as a Turk, or as a Turkish sovereign, without a positive pledge from Sir Stratford, I should, as a Turkish minister, have hesitated advising resistance to the peremptory demands of the Tsar. The Sultan whose rule, as I need not inform you, is one of the most constitutional in the world, and who is, without doubt, the most humane, and sincerely liberal, sovereign in Europe, had very little to say on the question. As far as it was put to him, he pronounced himself indignantly against the demand, and declared that he would prefer the loss of fifty thousand soldiers to so discreditable a concession. But Reschid, the Seraskier, and several of the ministers, abetted by some ultra-Moslemins, saw only in the hypotheses they had set forth in the Divan, the certain means of rendering impossible the extradition, and in this very philanthropic intent, despatched a confidential agent to

Widdin, to propose proselytism to the refugees, several of whose own friends advised them from Constantinople, that it was the only means to avoid being delivered up to their enemies. It is impossible to describe the sensation which was created in the emigration by this intelligence, and by the arrival of the agent, who after nightfall visited one by one the Hungarian leaders with his proposals. It became known that Bem had eagerly accepted offers, which perhaps only anticipated propositions of his own. It was impossible that any one could attribute the compliance of such a man to fear, and as I had gathered from his previous conversations, he was struck both with the admirable material of the Turkish army, and with its officerless condition. Bem's existence is epitomised in natural hostility to Russia; he saw in the Turkish army promising soldiers to command against the Russians; this is the cause of his conversion. But the example of that conversion had an immense influence on the Emigration: "Rather the Russians than the Austrians; rather Mahomedanism than the Russians!" was the universal agreement and cry. Nearly all the subalterns and soldiers, and in Guyon's quarters some five-and-twenty out of twenty-eight at the first moment seemed eager to accept the proposition. You know that between the Magyars and Turks a belief in kindred has of late reciprocally sprung up, which in the future may have an immense influence on the destiny of the East, and which renders less surprising the favour with which this idea was at first accepted. Whatever may be said or written to the contrary, the zeal of those propagandists, to whom the well-intentioned, but ill-judged scheme of the Turkish ministry had been

entrusted, induced them to represent the profession of Islamism as the only alternative of extradition. At least, *I know* that this representation was made to Kossuth, Batthyányi, Guyon, Zamoyski, and Monti, and that the belief was universally entertained both by them and by the whole of the Emigration that the only mode of avoiding extradition was by embracing Islamism.

It was under these solemn circumstances that Kossuth rose at the Council, held in his room on the occasion, and said with that inspired and inspiring enthusiasm peculiar to him: "That he did not pretend to control the conduct of any of his compatriots. That every man's religious convictions were a matter that rested only between himself and God—that consistently with that sincerity and truth, to which he had always rigidly adhered, he could hold out no hope that if they refused the offer made them, their extradition could be averted, and that if given up to Austria, he knew its Cabinet too well to allow them to cherish for a moment the illusion that any mercy would be shewn. But, nevertheless, for his own part, he would, when asked to abjure the faith of his forefathers, through terror of the executioner, welcome rather the gibbet and the block, and he concluded by denouncing curses on the tongue which should dare propose to him anything so infamous."

Count Batthyányi, Guyon, Zamoyski, Monti and Dembinski, (the General), negatived the offer with equal energy, and the effect of these examples was so great, that nine-tenths of the would-be-proselytes abandoned their primitive resolution. In all, a Polish, a Hungarian, and a German General, that is to say, Bem, Kmetty and Stein, passed over to the faith

of the prophet with ninety-five officers and men—Hungarian, Polish, and Italian, making ninety-eight in all. Some of the worst and most insubordinate characters were amongst them. The piety of certain Moslemims induced them as a bait to load these proselytes with presents, and to parade them before their compatriots, who, on the North bank of the Danube, were suffering terribly from cholera and from want of firing, stimulants, and clothes. An ill-feeling was hence generated. Some of these proselytes were turned out of the camp, the Turkish soldiers were disposed to interfere, thinking that their new co-religionaries were being persecuted for their change of faith. The unarmed refugees seemed once or twice on the point of rushing upon the guards, and the most trivial incident might have given rise to fearful slaughter.

Fortunately the representations which were made on this occasion brought to the knowledge of the Turkish ministry how ill their instructions had been fulfilled, and from this time a marked improvement took place in the emigrants.

Kossuth was removed to the best house in the place, (the property of the daughter of the late Pasha who had been married to one of her father's slaves, on the express condition that he should take unto himself only one wife,) and pay and rations began to be strictly distributed. A *mirlai* or colonel—a very polished sort of gentleman, whose manner was all suavity, and who wore straw-coloured kid gloves, came over from Omer Pacha's camp, evidently with special instructions, and threw the cunning, vulgar old Pacha of Widdin quite into the shade. Subsequently, two colonels came direct from Constan-

tinople, to convey the refugees to Schoumla, and nothing could exceed the courtesy and kindness of their behaviour or the munificence of the orders, which on the part of the Sultan, they came to carry out.

As the demand of extradition had given the Christian populations of Turkey the most exalted idea of the irresistible power of the Tsar, it was understood that the strongest political reasons existed, that if unable to attain his end through negotiation, he should, rather than suffer defeat in the eyes of the Rayas, attempt by violent means, to secure the persons of the refugees. The position taken up by the Russian troops on the other side of the Danube, led on several occasions to the apprehension that a *coup-de-main* might be essayed. This danger it was determined to meet by the desperate expedient of mounting Kossuth and the principal personages, and endeavouring to cut a passage for them through the enemy's cavalry. Some five and twenty English horses, saddles, sabres, and men to use them, and determined horsemen were "looked up" and kept in readiness by Guyon.

Considering the stamp of horses and the selection of the proven men, perhaps five and twenty such horse would never before have been got together. Once through the enemy's line, his horse could have had no chance in pursuit in the plain of Widdin, till the shelter of the oak coppice by which the hills are covered had been reached. Kossuth, in fact, at Widdin seemed several times disposed to play the part of the King of Sweden at Bender, and as a last resource, I am convinced, rather than embrace Islamism, would have perished with his companions in the attempt to cut his way through Turkey, I mention this, because you know

Görgey and the military party he attempted to get up, were always persuading Kossuth not to interfere in military matters, and then crying him down for not appearing in the field. I can bear my testimony to the fact, that at Widdin, when every body firmly believed that the refugees would be given up, the conduct of the Ex-President Governor was heroic.

It is worth while to remember too, that the series of victories by which Görgey beat back Windischgrätz from the Theiss to the Danube, were all gained whilst the army was inspired by Kossuth's presence.

It was, in one sense, at Widdin, a fault that Kossuth would not show himself in the camp. The private Hungarian soldiers suffering from cold, decimated by sickness, determined, by the example of their leaders, not to proselytize, and without even one cheering hope held out to them, said openly, "either lead us back to Hungary, if only armed with sticks, or let us die in our own country sooner than perish here."

This feeling coming to the knowledge of the Austrians, they sent General Hauslab to Widdin to entice them back to Hungary, by the promise of an amnesty. Kossuth refused to interfere, or give the soldiers any hopes he did not entertain; whilst, at the same time, it was argued that as Austria could not put the privates to death, the best thing these men could do was perhaps after all to return. Nearly two thousand soldiers, in this manner, went back to Hungary; but Guyon did not take matters so quietly. Hearing that the Austrian General had indulged in personalities, he went in search of him, armed with his horsewhip. The Austrian General and his officers beat a very undignified retreat, and took refuge on board the steamer, from which they threatened

vengeance, but did not venture to disembark in the face of the irate Englishman, who walked to and fro, to the great delight of the Turks, with a horsewhip in his hand. Guyon then went and tore down an abusive proclamation from the door of the Austrian Consul, who shut and barricaded his doors and windows, as if threatened with an assault. This was the alleged "violation of the consular domicile."

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The news of the surrender of Comorn was followed by that of the political executions. I cannot describe to you their effect upon t e refugees. Kossuth, and naturally the Batthyányis, were in particular deeply affected by the fate of Count Louis Batthyányi,—made prisoner when he went with a flag of truce,—condemned for participation in the murder of Latour (!) retried and executed, after he had been once acquitted;—his arrest was an act of perfidy; his condemnation a calumny; his execution an asassination. Kossuth seemed rather pained at an ably-written article in the "Daily News," in reference to Batthyányi's fall, but which was, in this particular, inaccurate; that it stated Batthyányi's seizure to have been made when he went with proposals of peace, without the concurrence of Kossuth. Kossuth as you know, always foresaw that the utter bad faith of Austria rendered hopeless all negotiation. He knew that the great object of all her machinations was to possess herself of the jealously husbanded resources of Hungary and the direction of her armed force—he did not require to tell your countrymen what they have understood for centuries, that all constitutions and rights are waste paper, when the control of the public funds

passes out of the hands of the representatives of the nation—but he did endeavour to impress on them that nothing less would satisfy the Austrian cabinet. On this particular occasion, though unchanged in his opinion, he deferred to the views entertained by the majority of the Diet, and parted on the best terms with Batthyányi, who went to the Austrian camp whilst Kossuth prepared at Debreczin for the result of which his sagacity forewarned him.

Kossuth is one of the warmest defenders of Batthyányi's memory, from whom he only differed as to means; and he said to me on this occasion, "I know that Batthyányi's detractors endeavoured to circulate that I prompted him and inspired his speeches in the Diet, but nothing can be more untrue—on the contrary, I may say, that to the support and encouragement which I received from Batthyányi's unvarying friendship is in a great measure due my own political career."

In Count Casimir Batthyányi, who has indissolubly united his political fortunes to those of Kossuth, now centre the suffrages not only of that party which looked to his unfortunate cousin as their leader, but even (according to the accounts which reach us) of the greater number of the stiff-necked and narrow-minded fraction of the aristocracy, who could not forgive the sacrifice of their feudal rights, but whom Austria has for ever alienated by these executions. Kiss, it was thought, would have been saved, but his fall is thought here to have been decided by the fact that he had lent large sums to influential personages. Radetsky, for instance, owed him £17,000. This is an Austrian way of clearing off a mortgage. I need not tell you that Batthyányi and Kiss were the only decided aris-

tocrats, as Szemere was the only republican mixed up on the Hungarian side in this struggle; the remainder, whatever their tendency of opinion, occupying themselves as little with such questions as with geological theories, and this, I think, you ought to let people know in England. The particulars of these ruthless executions were brought us by ——, who came over in disguise.

These martyred victims of their own credulity, of the perfidy of Russia, and the incurable ill faith of Austria, all appeared to have died heroically. Damianits met his fate like a Spartan, and with a laconism on his lips worthy of the best days of Greek history. Hanged after the others, he said, with a smile, "My friends, I was always first in the fire, why here the last?" The platoon, the gallows and the chain—the executioner's lash applied equally to women as to men—the spoliation—from whole princely fortunes down to the jewelry off the fingers of the wives of the murdered generals—have been the requital of the chivalrous generosity and forbearance of your countrymen.

The fate which overtook many of the victims, was, to some extent, due to their tendency to believe in a false prophet—for Hungary had in Görgey and in Kossuth her false prophet and her true. The result of these butcheries has been to show both in their propor colours, and to convince all classes of that profound sagacity in their elected governor, which the masses had instinctively divined. You have asked me for my impressions of Kossuth, and want of space now precludes my complying with your desire, beyond what the limits of a few lines will permit me to convey. I derive these impressions naturally as much from what I have heard and seen of

his influence on others as directly on myself. I believe Kossuth, then, to have as profound a knowledge of human nature as his favourite writer, Shakespeare, of whose bust his features, in some degree, remind you. To complete his physical portraiture, I should, in fact, only add to this description the chin and mouth of Byron, the eye and complexion of Napoleon Bonaparte, as painted by de la Roche, and beg the reader to suppose the effects of a few years imprisonment—of his long parliamentary campaign—and of the period of his ministry and presidency. This knowledge of human nature, together with his power of adapting himself to the capacity of those he addresses, is the source of his eloquence—and if the test of eloquence be to move and to persuade, he is assuredly the most eloquent of all men living. The masses admiringly term his style, in addressing them, Biblical, and perhaps do not inaptly characterize it. His enemies reproach him justly with being a poet,—and assuredly his writings and his speeches are filled with poetry of the highest order,—but they fall into the most grievous error when thereby intending to imply that he is nothing but a poet. The distinctive peculiarity in which he differs from all other popular leaders I can remember, who have been gifted with that poetical genius which is so important a constituent of eloquence, is the rare combination, with this talent of an equal aptitude for figures, facts and administrative detail. There are two men in him. The Kossuth eloquent with tongue and pen in half the languages of Europe, who can raise the whirlwind of passion in the masses, and lead the people as Moses did the Israelites; and the logically argumentative Kossuth of deliberative assemblies, the administrator and

financier who writes a secretary's clear round hand, and enters willingly into the most laborious detail. Add to this, the most fervent patriotism, and an integrity and disinterestedness which has never been assailed except by notorious hirelings of Austria, or on the authority of writers in whom I could show to be either Austrian *employés*—men owing their bread to Austrian patronage, or ignorant of every language spoken in the country they pretended to describe. You will say from all this, that I who repudiate so energetically the idolatry of hero-worship have fallen into it. It is not so. I am perfectly awake to Kossuth's faults, which are serious and many. He is too soft-hearted. He could never sign a death-warrant, he was hardly ever known to punish. I believe, that if Kossuth had a servant who could not clean his boots, he would never think of superseding him, but clean the boots himself. On this principle he wastes his time and energies, in details in which he should have no concern, and wears out, if not his untiring mind, a body which would be otherwise robust. These weaknesses, which might be amiable in an individual, are fatal in one who is literally a nation's representative. But I believe, that he has judgment enough to see, and will have sufficient determination to correct these faults. In conclusion, I can only say, that after the calamitous issue of the struggle which he directed, the people call him *father* Kossuth—wear shreds of his portrait on their bosoms—invest their hoarded savings in his notes, which I have seen purchased at 20 per cent., though their possession is felony, and that if he could present himself upon the frontier with four hundred thousand muskets, a few presses and some bales of paper, four hundred thousand soldiers

would rise up, and he would find his paper money received as eagerly as before. The lands on which that paper is secured the Magyars say that the Austrians cannot carry away, and cannot sell for want of purchasers. They will not believe in the permanent suppression of a constitution and a Diet which dates eight centuries and a half, and Kossuth is, in their eyes, the impersonation of that Diet. The peasantry affectionately remember Kossuth as her emancipator, and the proprietors gratefully recal that to the measures into which his eloquence persuaded them is due that hearty reconciliation between all classes, which has made the Magyar nation the only one on the continent of Europe, in which, amid its misfortunes, all heart-burnings between caste and class are set at rest.

VIII.

SENTENCE BY THE AUSTRIAN COURT-MARTIAL ON COUNT LOUIS BATTHYANYI.

Count Louis Batthyanyi, native of Pozsony, forty years old, a Catholic, and married man, has been convicted, partly by his own confession, partly by evidence, of having in his previous quality of Prime Minister of Hungary, taken, carried, and allowed to be carried, determinations, which by far transgressed the laws granted in March,* relative to the administrative concerns of Hungary;—of having thus loosened the union between Hungary and the Imperial Royal Hereditary States, which was lawfully guaranteed by the Pragmatic Sanction,—and of having thereby called up the most terrible dangers to the stability of the government of the State. He was further convicted of having strengthened and supported the party of the Revolution, by having after his resignation of his office as Prime Minister on the third of October, of last year, entered the ranks of the rebels; by having publicly summoned to armed defence and by having been re-elected and having participated in the Diet which had been dissolved by his Majesty.

Count Batthyanyi was condemned for high-treason—

* No laws were granted in March to Hungary: they were granted in April. The Court-martial certainly took little trouble to ascertain *facts*.

with confiscation of his whole property for the indemnification of the Treasury of the State, to die by the rope; and this sentence has been executed—after due ratification, to-day.

PEST, 6TH OF OCTOBER, 1849.

FROM THE IMPERIAL ROYAL COURT-MARTIAL.

IX.

THE PRAGMATIC SANCTION.

The Austrians often refer to the "*Pragmatic Sanction,*" and want to evince by it the unity of the different parts of the Monarchy, by which the independence of Hungary is said to have been abolished. They always quote the 2nd Article, 1723.

To the impartial judgment of every one, we here submit, uncurtailed, the whole original document of this law, with its introduction (*Article I*) and its conclusion (*Article III*), which the Austrians used to omit. We add to it the explanations of this law, such as it was confirmed in the year 1790, under Leopold II.

CAROLI VI, IMPERATORIS ET REGIS HUNGARIÆ III.

DECRETUM II, ANNI 1723.

ARTICULUS I.

Status et Ordines Regni, Partiumque eidem annexarum, Sacræ Cæsareæ, et Regiæ Majestati, pro Libertatum et Prærogativarum Eorundem Paterna et Clementissima Confirmatione; et Suæ in medium Statuum Sacratissimæ Personæ adventu; gratias quam maximas referunt.

Paternam sane, et Clementissimam Sacratissimæ Cæsareæ, et Regiæ Majestatis erga Status et Ordines Regni in præsenti Diæta, felicissime, et in frequentissimo, vix aliquando viso numero congregatos propensionem; et ad

permansionem Eorundem, ac incrementum publici Status Regni Hungariæ, Partiumque eidem annexarum, proque stabilienda in omnem casum, etiam contra Vim externam, cum vicinis Regnis, et Provinciis Hæreditariis Unione, et conservanda domestica tranquillitate directam curam et sollicitudinem, ex benignis Ejusdem Sacratissimæ Cæsareæ et Regiæ Majestatis, ad Status et Ordines Regni, Partiumque eidem annexarum Clementissime emanatis Literis Regalibus ac novissime factis Propositionibus; devoto sane homagialis Fidelitatis Eorundem zelo, et constanti fervore humillime intelligentes; pro hoc erga Eosdem Clementissime exhibito Paterni affectus Gratiarum singulari voto, quodve non obstantibus in adversum quibusvis gravissimis, Sacrum Romanum Imperium, et Europæam quietem tangentibus curis et laboribus, in medium fidelium Suorum Statuum semet conferre; et Eosdem in Altissima, iisdem summe Veneranda Persona sua, paterne consolari; et primum ac ante omnia, nullaque prævia fidelium Statuum et Ordinum eatenus præmissa humillima Supplicatione, ex puro erga Eosdem paterno affectu, universos Status et Ordines Regni sui Hæreditarii Hungariæ, Partiumque, Regnorum, et Provinciarum eidem annexarum, *in omnibus tam Diplomaticis, quam aliis quibusvis Juribus, Libertatibus, Privilegiis, Immunitatibus, Consvetudinibus, Prærogativis, et Legibus,* hactenus concessis, et conditis, ac in præsenti Diæta, et in futurum etiam Diætaliter condendis, conservaturam offerre; et eosdem, ac earundem singulas, clementissime confirmare dignata fuisset; humillimas, et quam possunt, maximas Sacratissimæ Cæsareæ ac Regiæ Majestati ideo etiam gratias referunt;

§ 1. Quod Fœmineum quoque Sexum Augustissimæ Domus Suæ Austriacæ usque ad Ejusdem, et ab Eodem Descendentium defectum, ad Regiam Hungariæ Coronam, Partesque, Regna, et Provincias, ad eandem Sacrum Coronam pertinentes, unanimi Universorum Statuum et Ordinum Regni, Partiumque eidem annexarum libero voto

proclamatum; et per solennem Eorundem Statuum et Ordinum ad Sacratissimam Cæsaream et Regiam Majestatem, Viennam expeditam Deputationem vocatum;

§ 2. Et ejusmodi oblationem, tam pie, et clementer gratoque animo acceptare; et fidelium Statuum et Ordinum suorum piis, ac salutaribus Votis, non tantum annuere dignata asset;

§ 3. Sed ejusmodi in Sacra Regni Hungariæ Corona, et Partibus, Regnis, et Provinciis eidem annexis Successionem, eodem quo Masculorum Primogenituræ Ordine, secundum normam in reliquis Suæ Majestatis Sacratissimæ Regnis, et Provinciis Hæreditariis, in, et extra Germaniam sitis, jam per Eandem ordinatam, stabilitam, publicatam, et acceptatam, inseparabiliter, habitaque in graduum æqualitate ejusdem Lineæ, Prærogativæ Masculorum ratione, dirigi, servari, et custodiri vellet;

§ 4. Ita, ut illa, vel Masculus Ejusdem Hæres, qui, vel quæ, præmissorum Augustæ Domus Austriacæ Regnorum et Provinciarum Hæres, juxta memoratam normam Primogenituræ in Augusta Domo Austriaca receptam, existet; eodem Successionis, pro his et futuris quibuscunque casibus, Hæreditario Jure, etiam pro infallibili Rege Hungariæ, Partiumque, Regnorum, et Provinciarum eidem annexarum, æque *indivisibiliter intelligendarum*, habeatur et coronetur.

Articulus II.

De Regia Hæreditaria Sacratissimæ Cæsareæ et Regiæ Majestatis Seæus Fœminei Augustæ Domus Austriacæ in Sacra Regni Hungariæ Corona, et Partibus eidem ab antiquo annexis, continua Successione.

Tametsi Suæ Sacratissimæ Cæsaræ et Regiæ Majestatis Fideles Status et Ordines Regni Hungariæ, Partiumque eidem annexarum, vividam et florentem, optimeque constitutam Ætatem, Vires, et Valetudinem conspicientes

Divinæque Benedictioni quam optime confisi, Eandem Magnis, et gloriosis Sexus Masculini Successoribus, ad præces quoque fidelium suorum Statuum eo fine ad DEUM Ter Optimum fusas, et incessanter fundendas, largissime benedicendam, et indefinenti Masculorum Hæredum suorum ordine fideles Status Regni consolandos fore, vel maxime confiderent;

§ 1. Quia vero apprime etiam perspectum haberent; Reges pariter, et Principes, æquali aliorum hominum mortalitatis sorti subjectos esse; mature proinde, et consulto perpendentes, tot et tanta, cum Prædecessorum Suæ Sacratissima Cæsareæ et Regiæ Majestatis, Divorum olim Leopoldi Genitoris, et Josephi fratris, Gloriosissimorum Hungariæ Regum; tum vel maxime propria Clementissime Regnantis Suæ Sacratissimæ Cæsareæ et Regiæ Majestatis, pro incremento Boni Patrii publici, prove fidelium Civium suorum perenni salute, Bello æque ac Pace, exantlata Gloriosissima Acta, et Facta; dum non modo Hæreditarium Regnum hoc suum Hungariæ, Partesque, Regna, et Provincias eidem annexas, in statu per præattactos gloriosos Prædecessores suos positum, conservavit; sed occasione etiam novissimi Ottomanici Belli, contra ferventissimos ejusdem impetus, idem animose tutata; victricibus, felicibusque Armis, in annexa eidem Regna, et Provincias, cum immortali sui Nominis Gloria, Statuumque et Ordinum, ac privatorum Regni Civium perenni securitate protenderit: ut successivis quibusvis temporibus, ab omnibus externis, et etiam domesticis confusionibus et periculis proservari; imo in alma, et continua tranquillitate, ac sincere animorum unione, *adversus omnem Vim etiam externam* felicissime perennare possit;

§ 2. Quosvis præterea etiam *internos Motus*, et facile solita, ipsis Statibus et Ordinibus Regni ab antiquo optime cognita *Interregni mala*, sollicite præcavere cupientes;

§ 3. Majorum suorum laudabilibus Exemplis incitati;

§ 4. Volentesque erga Sacratissimam Cæsaream, et Regiam Majestatem, Dominum Dominum Eorum Clementissimum, gratos, et fideles semet exhibere;

§ 5. In defectu Sexus Masculini Sacratissimæ Cæsareæ et Regiæ Majestatis (quem defectum DEUS clementissime avertere dignetur,) Ius hæreditarium succedendi in Hungariæ Regnum, et Coronam, ad eandemque Partes pertinentes, Provincias, et Regna, jam Divino auxilio recuperata, et recuperanda; etiam in Sexum Augustæ Suæ Domus Austriacæ Fœmineum, primo loco quidem ab altefata modo Regnante Sacratissima Cæsarea et Regia Majestate;

§ 6. Dein in hujus defectu; a Divo olim Josepho;

§ 7. His quoque deficientibus; ex Lumbis Divi olim Leopoldi, Imperatorum, et Regum Hungariæ Descendentes, Eorundemque legitimos Romano-Catholicos Successores utriusque Sexus Austriæ Archiduces, juxta stabilitum per Sacratissimam Cæsaream et Regiam Regnantem Majestatem in aliis quoque suis Regnis et Provinciis Hæreditariis, in et extra Germaniam sitis, Primogenituræ Ordinem, Jure et Ordine præmisso, *indivisibiliter*, ac *inseparabiliter*, *invicem*, et *insimil*, ac una cum Regno Hungariæ, et Provinciis, Partibus et Regnis eidem annexis, *hæreditarie possidendis*, regendum et gubernandam transferunt;

§ 8. Et memoratum Successionem acceptant;

§ 9. Taliterque eandem *Successionem Fœmineam*, in Augusto Domo Austriaca introductam, et agnitam (extensis ad eam nunc pro tunc Articulis 2 et 3, 1687, et pariter 2 et 3, Anni 1715) juxta ordinem supradictum *stabiliunt*;

§ 10. Per præattactum Fœmineum Sexum Augustæ Domus ejusdem, prævio modo declaratos Hæredes, et Successores utriusque Sexus Archiduces Austriæ, *acceptandam ratihabendam*, et una cum prœmissis, æque modo prævio per Sacratissimam Cæsaream et Regiam Majestatem clementissime confirmatis *Diplomaticis*, aliisque prædeclaratis Statuum et Ordinum Regni, Partiumque, Regnorum, et

Provinciarum eidem annexarum *Libertatibus*, et *Prærogativis*, ad tenorem præcitatorum Articulorum, futuris semper temporibus, occasione Coronationis *observandam determinant;*

§ 11. Et nonnisi post omnimodum prædicti Sexus defectum *avitam et veterem, approbatamque, et receptam Consvetudinem*, Prærogativamque Statuum et Ordinum, *in Electione, et Coronatione Regum*, locum habituram; reservant intelligendam.

Articulus III.

Jura, Prærogativæ, et Libertates Statuum et Ordinum Regni, Partiumque eidem annexarum confirmantur.

Sacratissima Cæsarea et Regia Majestas, universorum fidelium Statuum et Ordinum Regni, Partiumque eidem annexarum, omnia tam *Diplomatica*, quam alia quævis *Jura, Libertates, et Privilegia, Immunitates, Prærogativas, Legesque conditas, et approbatas Consvetudines* (in conformitate Articulorum 1 et 2 modernæ Dietæ, in sensu Articulorum 1, 2 et 3, Anni, 1715. Formulæque Juramenti ibidem contentæ, intelligendorum) clementer *confirmat, et observabit:*

§ 1. Pariterque *Successores*, legitime *coronandi* Hungariæ et Partium eidem annexarum Reges; in iisdem Prærogativis, et præmissis Immunitatibus et Legibus, Status et Ordines Regni Partiumque eidem annexarum *inviolabiliter conservabunt;*

§ 2. Quas et quæ, præterea sua Majestas Sacratissima, per suos *cujuscunque Status* gradus et conditionis subditos, *observari faciet.*

LEOPOLDI II. IMPER. ET REGIS HUNGARIÆ.

Decretum I. Anni 1790—91.

Articulus X.

De Independentia Regni Hungariæ, Partiumque eidem annexarum.

Erga demissam Statuum et Ordinum Regni Propositionem, Sua quoque Majestas Sacratissima benigne agnoscere dignata est, quod licet Successio Sexus fœminei Augustæ Domus Austriacæ per Articulos 1 et 2, 1723, in Regno Hungariæ, Partibusque eidem adnexis stabilita, eundem, quem in reliquis Regnis et Ditionibus hæreditariis, in et extra Germaniam sitis, juxta stabilitum successionis Ordinem inseparabiliter ac indivisibiliter possidendis, Principem concernat, Hungaria nihilominus cum Partibus adnexis, *sit Regnum liberum*, et relate ad totam legalem Regiminis formam (huc intellectis quibusvis Dicasteriis suis) *independens*, id est nulli alteri Regno aut populo obnoxium, sed *propriam habens Consistentiam, et Constitutionem*, proinde a legitime coronato hæreditario Rege suo; adeoque etiam a Sua Majestate Sacratissima, Successoribusque ejus Hungariæ Regibus, *propriis legibus, et Consuetudinibus, non vero ad normam aliarum Provinciarum*, dictantibus id Articulis 3, 1715, item 8 et 11, 1791, *regendum et gubernandum*.

X.

LETTER OF GENERAL KLAPKA TO BARON HAYNAU, CIVIL AND MILITARY GOVERNOR OF HUNGARY.

"YOUR EXCELLENCY,—The complaints, which are daily becoming more loud, of a breach of the capitulation of Komorn, compel me to address this letter to your Excellency; you, as the *alter ergo* of the Emperor, your master, have guaranteed by your word and handwriting the inviolability of that capitulation.

"You, and all other Austrian generals who besieged Komorn, know exactly what was the principal motive which induced the victorious garrison of the fortress to capitulate. The Austrian negotiators were indefatigable in their assurances that the Emperor waited but for the surrender of the fortress to follow the innate instincts of his heart, to show mercy and clemency to our countrymen, and to those among our companions in arms who, relying on the generosity of the conqueror, had made an unconditional surrender.

"In corroboration of these assertions, it was alleged that the Emperor had sent the Count Grunne, his own Adjutant-General to Arad, to stop the execution of the sentences of death which had been pronounced by the courts-martial sitting in that fortress; and the garrison of Komorn was induced to believe that their capitulation would release their friends, put a term to the state of martial law, and open the gates of the prisons. None of them had any idea that the only reason your Excellency had for urging the capitulation was, the desire to execute the bloody sentences against the doomed patriots unpunished aud unavenged.

"I will not enlarge on these events. Public opinion

speaks with a loud voice, and history will decide whether your Excellency has deserved well of the Emperor and the Austrian monarchy by the executions of Arad and Pest.

"But I must raise my voice for those who have trusted your word of honour and your signature, and who have been deceived. The original document of the capitulation of Komorn is in my hands. It is my duty to inform you of every breach of that capitulation, and to insist on a strict observance of those conditions, which have been most disgracefully violated in the following cases:—

"Those among the garrison of Komorn who, after the unconditional amnesty granted to them, still insisted on leaving their country, have not received regular passports, which was due to them, but warrants of exile (*Zwangspässe*), which compelled them to emigrate to America, and which, although they had the visa of the Prussian Embassy, contained an express clause to the effect that they would never be permitted to return. They received these passports eight days after the surrender of the fortress, that is to say, at a time when no reclamations could possibly be made, while those who left the fortress previous to its formal surrender had no difficulty in obtaining passports from the Count Nobili, without any conditions or restrictions whatever.

"Messrs. Csapo, Barosh, Rutkay, and others, were arrested after the capitulation, and Messrs. Bangya and Hamvashy, who had obtained passports over the frontier, are mentioned in a proclamation of the *Pest Gazette* of the 3rd of January as being guilty of the crime of high treason, and, under the allegation that they are running about and hiding themselves, they are summoned to appear before the court-martial within eighty days from the date of the proclamation. According to the terms of the capitulation, all these gentlemen ought to have a most unlimited amnesty.

"But still more general is the complaint, in which all reports and newspaper paragraphs agree, that, in spite of the provisions of Article I, of the capitulation, according to which every man of the garrison should be unconditionally allowed to proceed to, and remain in, his native place, the Honveds and Hussars have been summoned to come forward for the purpose of being enlisted in the Austrian regiments.

"Your Excellency cannot but remember that this point presented the chief difficulty in the capitulation. The unconditional dismissal of the Honveds was taken for granted by the term 'free withdrawal' (*freier Abzug*); but your Excellency insisted on enlisting the regiment of former soldiers of the line and of Hussars. We refused to concede this point, and at length you gave it up. I am aware that it has been attempted to interpret the words 'free withdrawal' into the meaning of temporary furlough; but that nothing of the kind was either thought of or understood is proved by the fact, that by your direction the Generals, Prince Colloredo, Burich, Barko, and others appealed to the regiment of late Würtemberg Hussars, asking them, amidst the most enticing promises, to return to the Imperial army. Not one of the men came forward to respond to the summons, to the signal indignation of the said Generals.

"The distinct terms of the capitulation, and the text of the safe conducts, promising 'safety of persons and properties,' admit not even of the possibility of a misinterpretation. Any pettifogging, twisting and turning of the meaning of these words would be incompatible with the straightforwardness of military treaties; and to punish, by a forcible enlistment, the very men to whom a promise of the safety of their persons and properties was given is dishonest, and consequently, disgraceful.

"I cannot believe that such glaring violations of

solemn and authorized engagements can have been perpetrated with your knowledge, and much less by your command. I cannot believe that a soldier, no matter what his political opinions may be, could stoop to stigmatize his profession and name by a deliberate breach of a solemn treaty. I cannot but believe that this high treason against military honour is the act of unconscientious parasites, whose minds are proof against the endless moral consequences of their crime.

"I appeal to your Excellency, and taking my stand on your word and signature, I direct you to provide for the inviolate maintenance of the capitulation of the fortress of Komorn. I appeal to you, and direct you to take measures to undo what your underlings have done, to make up for the violation of that capitulation, and to provide for the due delivery of passports to those among the garrison who wish to leave Austria for another country.

"But, if you take no notice of my just demands, you will compel me to resort to those moral weapons which alone are, at present, within my reach, and to protect at least the honour of those among my officers, who were parties to, and who signed the capitulation of Komorn.

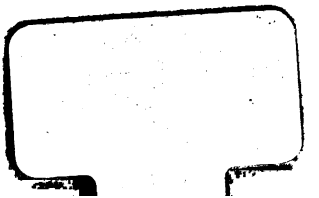
"I am,

"Your Excellency's obedient servant,

"General GEORGE KLAPKA.

"20, OXFORD TERRACE,
"LONDON, FEB. 6."

END.

LONDON.
Printed by Schulze and Co., 13, Poland Street.

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